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STALIN'S ORDER OF THE DAY ON MAY DAY, 1942

(The following is the text of the Order of the Day to the Red Army issued on May 1 by Joseph Stalin, People's Commissar of Defense and Chairman of the State Defense Committee of the U.S.S.R.)

COMRADES — men, commanders and political workers of the Red Army and Red Navy; guerrillas, men and women; workers, men and women; peasants, men and women; brain workers, men and women; brothers and sisters beyond the front line, in the rear of the German fascist troops, who have temporarily fallen under the yoke of the German oppressors! On behalf of the Soviet Government and our Bolshevik Party, I greet and congratulate you on May Day!

Comrades! This year the peoples of our country celebrate International May Day in conditions of patriotic war against the German fascist invaders. The war has laid its imprint on every aspect of our life. It has laid its imprint also on this day, on the May 1 celebration. Mindful of the war situation, the working people of our country have renounced their holiday rest in order to pass this day in intense labor for the defense of our country. Living at one with our men at the front, they have converted the May 1 celebration into a day of labor and struggle, in order to give maximum assistance to the front and supply it with more rifles, machine guns, trench mortars, tanks, aircraft, ammunition, bread, meat, fish and vegetables. This means that, with us, front and rear form a single, indivisible fighting camp, ready to overcome any difficulties on the road to victory over the enemy.

Comrades! More than two years have elapsed since the German fascist invaders plunged Europe into the abyss of war, subjugating the freedom-loving countries of the European continent—France, Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece—and sucked their blood for the enrichment of German bankers. More than ten months have elapsed since the German fascist invaders basely and treacherously attacked our country and began plundering and devastating our villages and towns, outraging and murdering the peaceful population of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia, the Ukraine and Moldavia. For more than ten months the peoples of our country have been waging a patriotic war against the bestial

enemy, in defense of the honor and freedom of their motherland.

In this time we have had opportunity to gain sufficient knowledge of the German fascists, to understand their real intentions, to know their true face and understand it not according to their verbal profession but from the experience of war, from universally known facts. Who, then, are these enemies of ours, the German fascists? What kind of people are they? What does the experience of war teach us on this point?

It is said that the German fascists are nationalists, protecting the integrity and independence of Germany against attacks on the part of other states. This is of course a lie. Only liars can assert that Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Greece, the Soviet Union and other freedom-loving countries made attempts on the integrity and independence of Germany. In reality the German fascists are not nationalists but imperialists, who seize foreign lands and suck their blood to enrich German bankers and plutocrats. Goering, chief of the German fascists, is himself well known as one of the biggest bankers and plutocrats, exploiting dozens of factories and plants. Hitler, Goebbels, Ribbentrop, Himmler and other rulers of Germany today are the watchdogs of German bankers and place the interests of the latter above all other interests. The German Army is a blind tool in the hands of these gentlemen and is called on to shed its own blood and the blood of other peoples and to cripple itself and other peoples not for the interests of Germany, but for the enrichment of the German bankers and plutocrats. This is what the experience of war tells us.

It is said that the German fascists are Socialists, endeavoring to defend the interests of the workers and peasants against the plutocrats. This is of course a lie. Only liars can assert that the German fascists, who introduced slave labor in their plants and factories and re-established a system of serfdom in the villages of Germany and of subjugated countries, are defenders of the workers and peasants. Only insolent liars can deny that the system of slavery and serfdom instituted by the German fascists is advantageous to the German plutocrats and bankers, and not to the workers and peasants. In reality, the German fascists are reactionaries, serf owners, and the German Army is the army of the serf owners, shedding blood to enrich the German barons and re-establish the power of the land owners. This is what the experience of war tells us.

It is said that the German fascists are carriers of European culture, waging war for the dissemination of this culture in other countries. This is of course a lie. Only professional liars can assert that the German fascists, who have filled Europe with gallows, who plunder and outrage peaceful populations, burn and blow up towns and villages and destroy the cultural values of the peoples of Europe, can be the bearers of European culture. In reality the German fascists are

enemies of European culture, and the German Army is an army of medieval obscurantism, called upon to destroy European culture and assert the slave-owning "culture" of German bankers and barons. This is what the experience of war tells us.

This is the face of our enemy, exposed and brought to light by the experience of war. But the experience of war is not restricted to these conclusions. The experience of war shows in addition that, in the period of the war, important changes have taken place both in the position of fascist Germany and its army, and in the position of our own country and the Red Army. What are these changes?

It is beyond doubt, first, that in this period fascist Germany and its army have become weaker than they were ten months ago. The war has brought grave disillusionments, millions of human sacrifices, starvation and poverty to the German people. The end of the war is not in sight, and reserves of manpower are coming to an end, oil is coming to an end, raw materials are coming to an end. Realization that Germany's defeat is inevitable is growing on the German people. The German people realize with growing clarity that the only way out of the present situation is to liberate Germany from the adventurist clique of Hitler and Goering.

Hitlerite imperialism has occupied vast territories in Europe, but it has failed to break the will to resist of the European peoples. The enslaved peoples' struggle against the regime of the German fascist highwaymen is beginning to acquire a universal character. Sabotage at war plants, explosions in German storehouses, wrecking of German military trains, murder of German officers and soldiers have become common occurrences in all the occupied countries. Whole Yugoslav and Soviet districts occupied by the Germans are swept by the conflagration of guerrilla war. All these circumstances have resulted in weakening the German rear, and consequently in weakening fascist Germany as a whole.

As for the German Army, despite its stubbornness in defense, it is nevertheless much weaker than ten months ago. Its old, experienced generals like Reichenau, Brauchitsch, Todt and others have either been killed by the Red Army or else driven out by the ruling German fascist group. Its regular officer corps has been partly exterminated by the Red Army and partly demoralized as a result of plunder and violence aaginst the civilian population. Its rank-and-file effectives, badly weakened during war operations, receive less and less reinforcements.

It is beyond doubt, second, that in the past period of war our country has become stronger than it was at the beginning of the war. Not only our friends but even our enemies are bound to admit that our country is now united and rallied around its government more closely than ever before, that front and rear in our country are united in a single fighting camp, firing at the

same target, that the Soviet people in the rear supply our front with constantly growing quantities of rifles and machine guns, trench mortars and guns, tanks and aircraft, food and ammunition.

As for the international relations of our motherland, they have recently grown and gained strength as never before. All freedom-loving peoples have joined forces against German imperialism. Their eyes are turned to the Soviet Union. The heroic struggle which the peoples of our country are waging for their freedom, honor and independence calls forth the admiration of all progressive humanity. The peoples of all freedom-loving countries regard the Soviet Union as a force capable of saving the world from the Hitlerite plague. First place among these freedom-loving countries is held by Great Britain and the United States of America, to which we are bound by ties of friendship and alliance and which are rendering our country constantly increasing military assistance against the German fascist invaders. All these circumstances show that our country has become much stronger.

Lastly, it is beyond doubt that in the past period the Red Army has become better organized and stronger than it was at the beginning of the war. One cannot regard as accidental the universally known fact that, after the temporary retreat caused by the treacherous attack of the German imperialists, the Red Army brought about a change in the course of the war and passed from active defense to successful offense against the enemy troops. The fact is that, thanks to Red Army successes, the patriotic war has entered a new stage—the stage of liberation of the Soviet lands from the Hitlerite vermin. True, the Red Army undertook execution of this historical task in the difficult conditions of a severe and snowy winter, but nevertheless it achieved great success.

Having taken into its hands the initiative in war operations, the Red Army inflicted a number of severe defeats on the German fascist troops and compelled them to evacuate a considerable part of Soviet territory. The invaders' plan to take advantage of the winter for a respite and consolidation of positions along their defense line suffered a fiasco. In the course of its offensive, the Red Army annihilated enormous amounts of enemy manpower and equipment, captured a fairly large quantity of equipment from the enemy and compelled him prematurely to expend his reserves from the distant rear, which had been destined for spring and summer operations. All this shows that the Red Army has become better organized and stronger, that its officers' corps has grown steeled in battle and its generals more experienced and far-sighted.

A change has also taken place in the Red Army rank and file. Complacency and heedlessness in the attitude toward the enemy, observed among Red Army men in the first months of the patriotic war, have

disappeared. The atrocities, plunder and violence perpetrated by the German fascist invaders upon the non-combatant population and Soviet war prisoners have cured our men of this disease. Red Army men have become more bitter and ruthless. They have learned really to hate the German fascist invaders. They have realized that one cannot defeat the enemy without learning to hate him heart and soul.

There is no more idle talk of the invincibility of the German troops, which occurred at the beginning of the war and which served to disguise fear of the Germans. The famous battles at Rostov and Kerch, at Moscow and Kalinin, at Tikhvin and Leningrad, in which the Red Army put the German fascist invaders to flight, convinced our Red Army that idle talk about the invincibility of the German troops is but a fairy tale invented by fascist propagandists. The experience of war has convinced our Red Army men that the so-called courage of the German officer is something highly relative, that the German officer displays courage when dealing with unarmed war prisoners and the peaceful civilian population, but that courage leaves him when he is confronted by the organized strength of the Red Army. Recall the popular saying: "Brave when facing a sheep, but a sheep when facing the brave."

These are the conclusions from the experience of war with the German fascist invaders. What do they show? They show that we can and must continue to smite the German fascist invaders in the future until their final extermination and the final liberation of the Soviet land from the Hitlerite scoundrels.

Comrades! We are waging a patriotic war of liberation, a just war. We do not set ourselves the aim of seizing foreign countries, of conquering foreign peoples. Our aim is clear and noble. We want to liberate our Soviet land from the German fascist scoundrels. We want to liberate our brothers, the Ukrainians, Moldavians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Letts, Estonians and Karelians, from the disgrace and humiliation to which they are subjected by the German fascist scoundrels.

To achieve this aim we must defeat the German fascist army and exterminate the German occupants to the last man, as long as they will not surrender. There is no other way. We can do this and we must do this at any cost. The Red Army possesses everything necessary to achieve this lofty aim. Only one thing is lacking—ability to make full use against the enemy of the first-rate armament supplied to it by our motherland. Therefore the task of the Red Army—its men, its machine gunners, its artillerymen, its trench mortar crews, its tankists, its fliers, and cavalrymen—is to study military art, to study persistently, to learn their arms to perfection, to become experts in their line, and thus to learn to defeat the enemy surely. Only in this way can one learn the art of defeating the enemy.

Comrades! Men, commanders and

political workers of the Red Army and Navy! Guerrillas, men and women! Greetings and congratulations to you on May Day! I order:

(1) The rank and file must learn to use the rifle perfectly, become masters of their arms, hit the enemy without fail, as is done by our glorious snipers, exterminators of the German occupants.

(2) Machine gunners, artillerymen, trench mortar crews, tankists and fliers are to learn to use their arms to perfection, to become experts in their specialties, to smite the German fascist invaders point blank until they are finally exterminated.

(3) Commanders of army units are to learn to perfection the coordination of arms, to become experts in the art of directing troops, to show the whole world that the Red Army is capable of fulfilling its great mission of liberation.

(4) The entire Red Army is to see to it that the year 1942 shall become the year of the final defeat of the German fascist troops and the liberation of Soviet soil from the Hitlerite scoundrels.

(5) Men and women guerrillas are to intensify guerrilla warfare in the rear of the German invaders, to destroy enemy means of communication and transport facilities, to destroy enemy headquarters and equipment, not to spare cartridges against the oppressors of our motherland.

Under the invincible banner of the great Lenin, forward to victory!

Signed: STALIN
People's Commissar of Defense

ECONOMIC EXHAUSTION MOUNTS IN HITLER GERMANY

BY EUGENE VARGA

THE present war is, according to to Ludendorff, total war requiring the utilization of all human and material resources of the belligerents. That is precisely why modern war is directed not only against the enemy's armed forces but against all his material resources and reserves of manpower, including the civil population, as well. Modern war is to a large extent a war of economic potentialities. Hitler, Goebbels and their clique, who have done their utmost to mislead and trap the German people, have always contested the historic fact that one of the decisive causes of Germany's debacle in 1918 was her complete economic exhaustion. Indeed they went as far as to assert that the defeat suffered by the German army was caused by a notorious "stab in the back," which for them is but another name for revolution. But against their assertion we have the evidence of all German military experts, who even under the Hitler regime offered a different assessment of the reasons that brought on Germany's defeat. One of them, Colonel Thomas of the German General Staff, writing in the *Military Economic Yearbook* for 1936, declared:

"It can be said with certainty that Germany's economic situation from the very beginning of the war until its end exercised a paramount influence on the course of hostilities and, in the final analysis, determined their outcome."

The present war finds the exhaustion of Germany's economic resources proceeding at a rapid pace, for the consumption has far outstripped the output. The vast majority of the male population has been divorced from productive activities for service with the armed forces and all remaining labor is engaged in the manufacture of war material rather than in production of foodstuffs and commodities of general utility.

Despite all the dire privations to which Hitler's clique has subjected the working people of Germany, consumption is still incomparably far ahead of the output. In this way the war is resulting in a general reduction of Germany's wealth; it is making for greater poverty and for exhaustion of all the nation's resources. With the outbreak of the war the Nazi authorities discontinued the publication of production statistics. Consequently the degree of economic exhaustion can be judged only from analogy with the first World War and on the basis of individual facts pertaining to the present war. Germany's total national income in the four years of the first World War was assessed at 168,000,000,000 marks. Professor Bogart estimates Germany's total expenditure for the first World War at $40,000,000,000—a sum equal to the aggregate national income. Viewed in this light all values created in the country over a period of five years—and indeed even more—were absorbed by the war. All non-war consumption, therefore, was at the expense of the country's basic assets. It stands to reason that these figures are not absolutely precise but that they do afford a sufficiently clear picture of the process of impoverishment and exhaustion of Germany's resources during the first World War.

This process of economic exhaustion is undoubtedly proceeding at a much more rapid pace in the present war which is primarily being waged with an incomparably greater use of weapons than was the case in the first World War. New and costlier armaments—tanks, aircraft, automatic weapons, to mention but a few—are being employed on a mass scale. There are approximately three times as many weapons for every soldier at the front than during the first World War. Economically this means that equipping an army of the same size as that employed in the World War now requires much larger quantities of material and many more workers. It also means that an ever increasing proportion of Germany's commodity output must be diverted to the army and consequently that this war has proved infinitely costlier than the war of 1914-18.

The data computed by Helferich, the German Minister of Finance during the first World War, reveals that Germany's war expenditure totaled some 2,900,000,000 marks per month. According to official German data the Reich's war expenditure in the twenty-eight months of the present war already has averaged approximately 6,300,000,000 marks per month—double that of the first World War. Moreover, this is attended by a mounting war deficit in each succeeding half year, as may be seen from the following figures on the growth of Germany's state debt published in the Nazi press. The average increase in Germany's state debt, in thousands of millions of marks, was 1.75 for the first four months of 1939, 2.5 for the first half of 1940, 3.26 for the second half of 1940, 3.8 for the first half of 1941 and 5 for the second half of that year. These

figures, it should be borne in mind, cover only expenditures made out of resources of the Reich proper. But part of Germany's war expenditure is met by looting the occupied countries.

It can be said with a fair degree of accuracy that the "income" from the occupied countries in the second year of the war accounted for about one-quarter of Hitler Germany's aggregate war expenditure. This calculation is based on France's contribution of 7,300,000,000 marks per year. Lacking the necessary commodity stocks, the Vichy Government is not in a position to cover this entire sum with payments in kind; part of it is covered by the Germans "purchasing" a number of French industrial establishments. Bearing in mind that the other occupied countries of Europe pay a similar tribute per capita, with Poland, Yugoslavia and Greece paying somewhat less, the total sum thus exacted would be in the neighborhood of 15,000,000,000 marks per year. However, the absolute sum of this "income" derived from the occupied countries and its relative importance in German finance are steadily diminishing as the countries concerned sink to lower depths of poverty, as their populations increase their resistance and as Germany's war expenditure mounts.

It should also be remembered that during the World War Germany was able to procure many vital commodities via such peaceful channels as Holland, Sweden, Norway and Denmark whereas today she is forced to maintain considerable forces of occupation in the conquered countries. This naturally ties up a large mass of extremely valuable labor power. Though temporarily improving Germany's position, the pillaging of occupied countries by no means signifies that Germany is thereby enabled to curb the process of economic exhaustion which continues to proceed apace.

In this connection Hitler's assertion that Germany today, as distinct from her position in the first World War, "commands all Europe's resources" is but mere bragging and a crass exaggeration so typical of that adventurist. In 1917 Germany had, in conjunction with her allies, seized and placed under her domination practically as much territory as she now occupies. Among the countries now captured by Hitler are Holland, Norway and central France. But in the first World War Germany could dispose of the resources of her ally Turkey, whose possessions then stretched to the Persian Gulf. As for Italy, Germany is now compelled to provide her with coal, iron, steel, machines, metal and fuel oil from German sources. In return Germany receives labor power, some quantities of mercury, sulphur and a certain amount of vegetables and fruit. If anything, Italy is a liability rather than an asset, and indeed a heavy burden on Germany's material resources.

The Nazis' treacherous attack on the Soviet Union led to a sharp upturn in war expenditure and to an equally sharp acceleration of the process of economic exhaustion in

the Reich. The expenditure of war materials on the Soviet-German front is many times greater than that on all other fronts. Terrific losses force Hitler to resort to the mobilization of manpower. These repeated mobilizations tend substantially to deplete the available labor power in the rear and inevitably result in declining output.

The sea blockade has been one of the features of this war from its very outset and has been pressed home on a full scale. In the first World War Germany was still able to import large quantities of commodities, food and raw materials, from overseas through such neutral countries as Holland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden. In the four years of war Kaiser Germany registered an unfavorable foreign trade balance of 16,000,000,000 marks. In other words, 10 per cent of Germany's expenditure could be covered without drawing on her own stocks of commodities. In payment Kaiser Germany offered gold and foreign capital investments, while a part of the purchases were made against credits obtained in neutral countries through which Germany could receive overseas supplies.

Now she has neither gold nor foreign capital investments to pay for imports. Moreover, Hitler Germany is denied credits in neutral countries. There are other reasons too why the blockade of her coast is more severely felt now than in the last war. The development of mechanical weapons of war has greatly increased the importance of raw materials obtainable only abroad—rubber, fuel oil, lubrication oils and alloys. Germany is compelled to manufacture many of these vital and strategic raw materials by synthetic processes. This entails the expenditure of enormous quantities of coal, electric power, and labor, while the product received is manifestly of inferior quality. This too tends to accelerate the process of the exhaustion of Germany's resources.

The very system of fascist violence which rules supreme in the Reich diverts a substantial proportion of labor power from productive activity. Hundreds of thousands of men and women have fled the country and many more thousands have been killed or tortured or are languishing in concentration camps. Many hundreds of thousands are employed in the fascist apparatus of coercion—the Gestapo police, frontier police, Nazi party, Labor Front and the so-called "Caste of Public Nutrition." Millions of people are employed in sundry positions, in the vast apparatus supervising the distribution of raw materials, exercising control, etc. Numerous civil administration bodies and countless military and economic commissions in occupied lands also divert hundreds of thousands of people from German economy. The fact that Germany's economy was substantially weakened by the breakneck tempo of war preparations has proved of decisive importance in the process of economic exhaustion. This process set in before the war

actually began and there is an abundance of irrefutable facts to prove this.

Hitler himself admitted that in the nine years of his rule 90,000,000,000 marks was spent on preparations for war. What this tremendous sum means for German economy is best judged from the following comparison: the aggregate of new capital investments in German national economy, excluding normal allowances for wear and tear, amounted to 28,000,000,000 marks in the ten years 1924 through 1934. Hence the expenditure on war preparations was three times as much as the total new capital investments in a whole decade. It is common knowledge that the manufacture of armaments differs fundamentally from the manufacture of all other values. Tanks, aircraft, cannon and other weapons represent neither basic nor working capital for national economy. The term national economy is used here advisedly for in case of a private individual capitalist the form of the product manufactured is of no importance. In Nazi Germany over the course of six or seven years commodities valued at some twelve or thirteen billion marks were each year excluded from the general output of values. This means that the real impoverishment of Germany began long before the war. In 1928, the very best year of the period separating the first from the second World Wars, the net capital investments in Germany, that is, the accumulation of capital, amounted only to some 7,000,000,000 marks or half of the sum which Hitler put into armaments every year. The fact that German national economy was forced into a one-sided development and was reshaped to meet the war needs before the war actually began means that during the war the country has been left without reserves for further expansion of output.

Both Great Britain and the U.S.A. possess large reserves of basic capital and raw materials which in the process of converting industry to war needs could be and actually have been utilized to obtain a larger output of war supplies. The outbreak of the war found both these countries with large reserves of labor power.

In the Soviet Union, where unemployment was unknown, these reserves were made possible by a planned socialist system of economy and by collectivization and mechanization of agriculture, which enabled a large body of labor power to be transferred to industry.

Germany, however, entered the war without reserves of basic capital, raw materials or labor power. Of basic importance, too, is the fact that the German working class—a decisive factor in production—was at the outbreak of the war fatigued, with its strength considerably sapped by long periods of malnutrition. Hitler boasted that he had eliminated unemployment. Indeed the number of persons employed increased by several millions and the work week was considerably lengthened. But the German working class received no increase in

real wages over the 1932 level in return for a work week twice as long as in the pre-war period. Hitler's slogan "guns instead of butter" launched before the war broke out is positive proof that Nazi Germany's rearmament program was bought at a price of drastic deterioration of her people's nutrition. If we add to this longer work day the murderous exploitation of labor and the marked deterioration of social welfare services it will become clear that Germany's working class is under no circumstances capable of undergoing the hardship and hunger that the working class of Kaiser Germany, which enjoyed a higher standard of nutrition and was not worn out before the war, was called upon to endure for several years.

Such are the salient factors which in the present war are making for a much quicker exhaustion of Germany's resources than in the last World War.

How has this process of economic exhaustion developed to date? No detailed answer comprehensibly substantiated by precise data can be given to this all-important question inasmuch as the Nazi authorities no longer publish statistical data.

But there are isolated facts and certain known data which permit of several deductions. Germany is especially hard hit by the depletion of stocks of raw materials formerly imported from abroad. Textiles can be taken as a fair example. Pre-war Germany processed around 950,000 tons of raw and semi-raw materials per year. Only a small portion of this—wool, hemp, used material and synthetic fiber—was produced at home. Everything else had to be imported. Germany's textile output stood at ten kilograms per capita per year. With the outbreak of the war, consumption of textiles by the army at least doubled. Even if we proceed from the assumption that civilian consumption is limited to the barest minimum—somewhere in the neighborhood of 1.5 kilograms per capita per year—it should be clear that following an almost complete drop of imports, the stock of raw textile materials, including those seized in France, Belgium and Holland, must be completely exhausted. That these stocks are actually coming to an end may be seen from the fact that a large proportion of Germany's textile mills has been brought to a standstill and in the autumn of 1941 rations of textiles were cut in half. Moreover, letters to German soldiers at the front reveal that these reduced rations are seldom available to the population.

The fascist army itself is a living proof of the lack of textiles in Germany. In the winter just past the Nazi forces at the Soviet-German Front could not be equipped with warm clothing made of new materials and were supplied makeshift garments taken from the population. Worse still is the situation with regard to leather. Germany has no leather footwear for her population and even wooden soled shoes are obtained with difficulty for lack of leather straps.

The picture is much the same

with respect to other imported raw materials. Before the war Germany imported over 200,000 tons of copper and 500,000 tons of copper ore per annum. Only an insignificant part of this was obtained after the looting of Yugoslavia, Norway and Spain. The copper shortage in Hitler Germany has grown to such dimensions that not only are church bells being removed (in occupied territories all church bells have long since been shipped off to German foundries), and not only are all household utensils being taken from the population but even the copper coin is being withdrawn from circulation. The same acute dearth is apparent in the case of zinc, nickel and alloys. Furthermore, Germany's stocks of rubber, jute, coke, coffee, cocoa are completely used up. Although Germany has seized large quantities of fuel oil in the occupied countries her reserves of that fuel are nearing exhaustion. The Axis situation with regard to fuel oil is characterized by the following data: when Hitler Germany attacked the U.S.S.R. the reserves were between ten and twelve million tons. The annual extraction of oil in the Reich proper and in all "allied" and vassal countries, exclusive of Rumania, amounts to approximately 1,000,000 tons. The Rumanian output shows a steady decline and is now no more than 5.2 million tons. The output of synthetic fuel oil in Germany, France and Italy is estimated at three to four million tons per year; with the inclusion of benzol and alcohol, the aggregate probably reaches ten to eleven million tons per year.

Before the war the annual consumption of oil for the whole of continental Europe was put at fifteen million tons per year. It is safe to say that following the drastic cut in non-war consumption this figure has dropped to six million tons per year. Germany's expenditure of fuel oil on the Soviet-German front alone is upwards of one million tons per month with another 100,000 tons per month used on other fronts. Consequently Germany's wartime consumption of oil is some 13.2 million tons per year and together with non-war consumption—amounting to six million tons—reaches 19.2 million tons with an annual output of ten to eleven million tons. This means that the Axis bloc consumes per year from eight to nine million tons of oil over and above its output. Hence the reserves of oil built up before the war are well nigh gone. The lack of fuel oil already is beginning to tell on the operations of the German army. For example, whole divisions have had to march on foot across Poland to the Soviet-German front due undoubtedly to an acute shortage of fuel oil.

Soil deterioration in Germany has gone very far. The shortages of phosphate fertilizers, draft animals, fuel oil and primarily labor power have in their combination resulted in a progressively worse cultivation of land and a considerable decline in fertility. This explains the sharp drop in the output of agricultural products similar to that experienced

during the first World War. The number of cattle has fallen by some 20 per cent and the quality of the livestock has manifestly deteriorated.

The shortage of fodder has resulted in the mass slaughter of pigs, which in turn renders the shortage of fats more acute. Noteworthy in this respect are the opinions of the German agricultural experts regarding exhaustion of German agriculture as a result of the war.

Major Butler, writing in the *Annual Review of War Economy* for 1936, had this to say:

"No country can with impunity deprive agriculture of its best working forces—labor power, motors and horses—and expect yields to be the same. The size of this inevitable decline in the output depends on the economic structure of the country concerned. In Central Europe one should contemplate an average fall of at least 20 per cent. Taking into account increased wartime consumption resulting from higher demands by the army we can certainly add another 20 per cent. In other words under war conditions only such countries of Central Europe can be regarded as complete autarchies as produce at least 40 per cent more than they consume."

Bearing in mind that before the war imports accounted for 20 per cent of all foodstuffs consumed by Germany's population, the deficit of farm products can be placed approximately at 40 per cent. But to this should be added the losses incurred by bombings and increased consumption by the army. Consequently the civilian population receives less than half the per capita consumption of pre-war days.

On April 6, 1942, the German authorities introduced new and very drastic cuts in food rations. Previous rations were cut by 11 per cent in the case of bread, 35 per cent in the case of meat and 23 per cent in the case of fats. The present standard of natrition—or, to be more correct, malnutrition—of the German people is at the level of 1917-18.

Obviously the lack of proper nourishment over the course of several years preceding the war and three years of semi-hunger during the war was bound to result in a steady decline of labor productivity. This actually was the case and the Nazi press never tires of complaining on this score. The exhaustion of labor power reserves is undoubtedly the greatest danger to Hitler's war economy. Despite the mobilization of invalids, women and children for work in industry, despite the fact that hundreds of thousands of handicraftsmen and small business men deprived of every means of livelihood have been forced into war plants, despite the importation of workers from the occupied and "allied" countries, and employment of war prisoners, the shortage of labor power is universal throughout Germany and is particularly felt in the case of skilled labor. Foreign workers and war prisoners cannot replace the almost six million workers serving with the armed forces. Another factor reducing the labor productivity, particularly in the case of women, children and

adolescents, is the war-weariness. In many cases productivity is lowered by deliberate political sabotage.

Though sufficient specific data regarding the reduction of basic capital is lacking there can be no doubt that the wear and tear on machines, appliances, tools, buildings, etc., has reached a high degree. This the fascists themselves do not deny. As early as in the first year of the war, Hettlage, one of the Nazi professors, estimated that the wear and tear on machinery for which no compensation had been made amounted to 6,000,000,000 marks. This sum has probably increased threefold since that estimate was made. The annual reports of the Reich's leading armaments concerns—Krupp, I. G. Farbenindustrie, etc.—show that these firms were not even in a position to replace worn out machinery by new capital investments. In the case of I. G. Farbenindustrie this non-compensation amounted to 18,000,000,000 marks in the first year of the war. In other words the basic capital of its plants dropped by 15 per cent in one year of the war alone.

The wearing out of railway rolling stock which began in the very first days of the war has progressed considerably. Capital investments in buildings register a drastic decline. Buildings destroyed by air-raids are restored only in rare cases. Goering has issued a special order prescribing stringent economy in the expenditure of even the cheapest grades of building materials. The regular repair of buildings has been abandoned, causing an unparalleled housing shortage. The correspondent of *Svenska Dagbladet* wrote in November that finding a room in Berlin was absolutely out of the question, let alone an apartment. Rents have increased over 50 per cent and in addition tenants are forced to pay their landlords sundry contributions under the guise of "expenses."

Household reserves of every description are totally depleted as far as the working people of Germany are concerned. Small stocks of foodstuffs accumulated by most families were used up long ago. All household utensils made of aluminum, tin, copper and other metals as well as warm clothing have been requisitioned. On the whole, Germany's loss in this category, which covers 20,000,000 households, represents an imposing sum. It is thus clear that the process of exhaustion of Germany's resources proceeds apace in all fields. It is difficult at the present time precisely to guage how far this process has developed. Yet there is every ground to suppose that no less than one-quarter of the real national wealth, that is, working time expressed in commodities, has been spent.

In keeping with the laws of capitalist society the actual impoverishment of the country is accelerated by an apparent growth of wealth—surplus of monetary capital in the hands of the ruling classes. This available monetary capital is nothing but an expression in paper money of the price paid for real values purchased by the state, *viz.*, raw materials, finished goods, machines and means of production. In war conditions surplus money is

a characteristic feature of the impoverishment of the country under a capitalist social order. But monetary capital can in the present-day Germany not be converted into productive capital, for commodities necessary for this—raw materials, means of production, labor power—are unobtainable. Yet this monetary capital seeks some form of utilization. Hence there is feverish profiteering in virtually every commodity the price of which is not controlled by the government. These types of commodities include securities, objects of art, jewelry, museum collections, etc. Once capital cannot be applied to the exploitation of workers, efforts are made at least to preserve its value by investing it in various commodities for foreign exchange, etc. This brings out yet another result of Germany's impoverishment, namely, inflation. The Nazi Government seeks to curb inflation by fixing prices on all commodities, but all its efforts in this direction have proven futile. The exhaustion of Germany's resources must inevitably lead to her exhaustion in the war. It would, however, be absolutely incorrect to base all calculations on this one factor. Exhaustion will help break the will to fight and the fighting capacity of the German army and the German people; it will help bring on this break before catastrophe overtakes the country.

In the first World War the German army maintained its fighting capacity for a long time despite the fact that economic exhaustion had reached imposing dimensions. The reason for this was primarily that up to the summer of 1918 the German army, save for its defeat at the Marne, the real significance of which was unknown to the German soldier until the end of the war, had suffered no major defeats and was not forced to retreat from territory once captured. The situation is altogether different today, when Hitler's hordes are suffering defeat after defeat at the Soviet-German front, are hurled back hundreds of kilometers and are forced to give up one captured region after another.

Exhaustion of economic resources and the defeats suffered by the Nazi army combine to break the fighting capacity of Hitler Germany. Therefore Hitler's final defeat as a result of staggering blows at the front must come much sooner than the collapse of Kaiser Germany in the first World War, when the economic exhaustion and the depletion of all resources were the only factors making for defeat.

THE UNDERWORLD METHODS OF GERMAN FASCISM IN FOREIGN POLICY

BY P. SCHULTZE

THE aims of the foreign policy of every state are determined by its policy at home. But only the German fascist state resorts to the same methods in its foreign policy which it employs against the "internal enemy." As in the case of its domestic policy, German fascism proceeds from the proposition that her adversary must be deceived, lulled to sleep by illusions of security, isolated and then shoved out of the way. Moreover, gotten out of the way by means of violence. But to clear the field of action of one or a few individual adversaries is inadequate. The aim is "unification," the establishment of absolute German domination within the country chosen as the victim, and the enslavement by Germany of all other peoples and states. One of the principal methods of fascist diplomacy is lying, deliberate deceit, and planned violation of agreement. For fascist diplomacy agreements and peaceful undertakings have but a single purpose: to gain time, to lull the vigilance of the enemy, and to nullify agreements concluded by the latter with neighboring states in order to strengthen its own defense.

Suffice it to recall the policy of German fascism with regard to Poland. In the "Fuehrer's" scribblings Poland always figured as one of the "inveterate enemies" subject to destruction.

However, staging of the "turn" in this respect began in 1934 when Hitler stated in the Reichstag that the "existence of the Polish State is an irrevocable fact." In 1936 Hitler made the next move on the chessboard by proclaiming that "it would have been unwise to cut off from egress to the sea a state which has a population of 33,000,000."

This was a brazen lie and the most unadulterated hypocrisy. It was necessary to lull Poland's vigilance, to undermine her entire sys-

tem of international agreements, and thereby bring nearer the moment of military attack.

The fascist swindlers on Wilhelmstrasse laughed up their sleeves when in 1934 they signed a pact of non-aggression and friendship with Poland assuring that for a whole decade all questions pertaining to the Polish Corridor, Silesia and Danzig were removed from the order of the day. The whole world now knows what became of these "ten year" assurances given to Poland.

Formerly also diplomatic agreements were not concluded to last forever. But never before have international agreements been deliberately subverted to aims diametrically opposite to those for the sake of which they were concluded. For fascist diplomacy the term agreement is a mere formality. Did not Hitler simultaneously with the violation of the Locarno agreement, and remilitarization of the Rhineland—in other words while undertaking what constituted the most direct steps in preparation for war against France and Belgium—propose a non-aggression pact for twenty-five years, precisely with the object of completing this preparation for war? As to the worth of Hitler's solemn pledges and agreements, much light could be shed on this matter by his servant Mussolini.

In June, 1934, Hitler met Mussolini in Venice. On the agenda was the question of Austria, then still under the patronage of Italy. The correlation of forces at that time compelled Hitler to make concessions to Mussolini. He thereupon made the solemn pledge that he would strictly observe complete non-intervention in the affairs of Austria. But four weeks later, in July, 1934, the notorious fascist coup occurred in Austria.

The occupation of Austria in 1938 constituted a violation of the agreement through which Hitler solemnly recognized the independence of Austria.

Everyone remembers how at the moment of Austria's occupation, Goering no less solemnly assured the Czechoslovak government of Germany's most peaceful intentions with regard to Czechoslovakia, but barely a few months had elapsed when the Sudetenland campaign was launched.

Following the occupation of the Sudetenland, Hitler stated that Germany had no other claims on Czech territory and in the Munich agreement Germany even "guaranteed" Czechoslovakia's frontiers. The violation of this agreement followed a mere half year later in March, 1939, when Hitler destroyed the Czechoslovak Republic.

However, the above examples of Hitler's violation of agreements were just the beginning. They were followed by a whole series of cynical lies and acts of aggression, beginning with violation of the non-aggression pact with Denmark and ending with the declaration of Germany's peaceful intentions with regard to Holland and Belgium, published only twenty-four hours

prior to the attack on these small neutral states.

All nine years of Hitler Germany's diplomatic activities constitute one continuous chain of acts of cynical perfidy. The last link in the chain was the violation of the pact with the Soviet Union. But the Hitler fascists did not foresee that this time it would be an act of suicide.

Lies and deception as an instrument of foreign policy are used by the fascists not only with their enemies. The fascists impudently deceive and betray their own "allies" as well.

Actually fascist diplomacy recognizes no essential differences between foe and "ally," for the starting point of German imperialism is not a joint rule but its own indivisible domination of the world. Hence, lie and deceive also your "allies" so as to keep them in check and rule them more easily.

When Italy entered the war Hitler promised Mussolini more than Nice, Corsica and Tunisia. The Mediterranean was to become a "mare nostrum," an Italian sea, North Africa a part of the Italian "empire," and the Balkans an Italian "sphere of influence." Of course Hitler did not even think of fulfilling these promises.

But since Hitler enslaved France with the hands of Laval, Pétain and Darlan, and trampled underfoot the independence of the French people, he also plays on the Franco-Italian contradictions. He is using the contradictions between his Italian "ally" and his French victim to dupe them both, rob them both and to appropriate everything for himself.

Even more cynically is this method of "divide and rule" employed by Hitler Germany with regard to her small "allies" Hungary and Rumania.

None other than Hitler dismembered Rumania by means of the notorious Vienna arbitration in 1940, ceding northern Transylvania to Hungary. Immediately afterward he began inciting the Rumanian Irredentists against Hungary.

In full keeping with his methods Hitler is promising Rumania's southern Transylvania to Hungary, for participation in the war against the Soviet Union, while at the same time promising to restore to Rumania the northern part of Transylvania. Both "allies" presented their claims to Banat, a part of enslaved Yugoslavia. Hitler is handing out promises right and left, arousing fresh hopes and whetting the appetites of both sides while he himself is firmly clinging to the Banat granary. Both allies are ready to fly at each other's throats, but both are firmly strapped to Hitler's saddle.

Hitler Germany is pursuing her provocative foreign policy with the skill of a veteran bandit. Provocation is also resorted to with regard both to "foe" and "ally." Thus Hungary was spurred into the war against the Soviet Union by the provocative bombing of Kassa, ascribing this act, no doubt with the connivance of part of the Hungarian rulers, to the Soviet air force.

As regards the enemy, provocation serves as a means for bringing about internal dissension, thus facilitating greater surprise in attack. Immediately preceding Munich an armed putsch of the Henlein fascists took place in Czechoslovakia.

This putsch was necessary to compel the Czech Government either to capitulate or take up arms. Thus provocation serves to force upon the enemy the moment of combat and deprive him of the possibility of choosing this moment. Diversionists are brought into action in order to cause the disruption of the enemy's rear.

German imperialism has at its disposal not only individual agents-provocateurs and diversionists but whole organizations disguised under the banner of national organizations and political parties, trying to work their way into the innermost political life of the country.

Hitler himself expounded this predatory character of fascist foreign policy with the most cynical frankness:

"It is of the utmost necessity that the enemy nation should be demoralized, that it should be prepared for capitulation, that it should be morally reduced to passivity before any thought of military operations might enter its head. Will we succeed in bringing about the moral defeat of the enemy before the outbreak of war? This is a question of interest to many. Everywhere in the most hostile country we will have friends to help us."

It was precisely thus that German fascism acted with regard to its future enemies: everywhere it found agents to assist on the eve of war and particularly in wartime. Only in the Soviet country, Hitler's friends, the Trotsky-Zinoviev-Bukharin gang, did not succeed in living to see the war. This gang was smashed by the Soviet people long before the attack of German fascism.

Spies and diversionists operating singly and in groups were also to be found in the past. But "fifth column" organization which combines subversive political work with military espionage, acting as an illegal agency of a foreign power and at the same time as a legal internal political force, had never existed before. The activities of such "fifth columns"—from Henlein to Quisling—are well known. The tactics and programs of all the Degrelles, Musserts, Henleins, Doriots, Quislings, Machs and the like may differ but all of them had as their aim the destruction of the democratic liberties and the weakening of the will for national defense in the given country in order to get it "ready" for a German attack or for "voluntary" subordination to German rule. It is for this reason that all boundaries have been obliterated in the activities of these organizations between politics on one hand and espionage, diversion, terror and murder on the other.

German agents assassinated the Rumanian Prime Minister Duca, the Yugoslav King Alexander, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs

Barthou, and the Austrian Chancellor Dollfuss. Foreign agents of German fascism are recruited and trained in the spirit of total contempt for the legal system of the country where they are operating —always functioning secretly and conspiratorially. The fascist policy of their patrons, the Hitler bandits, constitutes a direct road to crime, and crime in its turn is elevated to the status of political "valor." This is how the notorious type of fascist cutthroat, the German foreign agent, originates.

Convincing proof of the obliteration of all borders between politics and provocation is afforded by the activities of German fascist agencies in the American countries. The investigation conducted by the Government Commission in Uruguay into the circumstances attending the preparations for a fascist putsch in the summer of 1940 established that the putschists had an armament store at their disposal, that they were preparing acts of diversion at airfields, railway junctions, and power stations, and that they had organized shock detachments whose aim was the establishment of German "protectorates" in Uruguay, in Argentina, in Chile and in Bolivia.

A commission appointed by the United States Congress to investigate the so-called "German-American Bund" established that in the United States there were operating from 20,000 to 50,000 German secret agents, that leaders of the legal fascist societies were Gestapo agents, and that military associations were functioning under the guise of legal public organizations.

The disappearance of all difference between politics and provocation in fascist organizations abroad has resulted in the complete transformation of German diplomacy. The distinction between diplomat and diversionist has vanished. It is impossible to distinguish in the person of a German ambassador where the diplomat ends and the Gestapo agent begins. Manfred Killinger, a repugnant type of political assassin and one of the organizers of the Hitler-staged Reichstag fire, was at one time appointed to the post of German Consul General in San Francisco; he is now Hitler's omnipotent Ambassador to Rumania. Such people as Captain Wiedemann, Ribbentrop, Abetz and their ilk have also come to the surface. The appearance of these people is not accidental. They merely personify the aggressiveness of German foreign policy, its criminal methods. It is German robber imperialism that has given birth to such methods and has advanced the criminal adventurist and bandit onto the political arena.

Why has German imperialism resorted to methods of barbarous terroristic dictatorship in the struggle against its own people? Why is it resorting to the shameful means characteristic of its home policy also in the struggle against other people?

Having arrived too late to share in the division of the world, German imperialism has resorted to forcible means in order to over-

come with the sword the discrepancy between its historic belatedness and the level of its development.

One must remember that the belief in naked violence as a means of solving all social and historical problems was inherited by German imperialism from the predatory Prussian State, from the Prussian Junkers and the officer caste. The German imperialists, who never passed through the school of democracy, who never acquired through it any flexibility with regard to their relations with their own people, presumed that the same language, the language of the sabre, could be used in dealing with other peoples as well. Nor did the defeat of 1918 cure them. On the contrary, without affecting either the economic or political positions of the German industrial magnates, of the Junkers and officer caste, it has aroused a great thirst for revenge and has greatly sharpened the aggressiveness of German imperialism.

Gripped by an unbridled lust for revenge, German imperialism had to function in a post-war world shaken by economic, political and social crises. The German imperialists initiated their campaign of conquest in conditions of profound social unrest. They, therefore, decided to take advantage of the critical state of the bourgeois world for the realization of their predatory plans. Hence the appeal to property instincts of the upper strata in its home policy, the concentric rallying of all the forces of reaction, and the dishonest play on the "anti-capitalist" instincts of the lower strata. Hence in the realm of foreign policy they attempt to worm their way into the confidence of the bourgeois democratic states, to appeal to the most reactionary circles of these states to form a united front against the Soviet Union while they at the same time stir up demagogic incitement against the "plutocracy" of these countries, and carry on struggles and subversive activities against them in order to weaken them as rivals and clear the way for Germany's world hegemony.

The fact that German imperialism is the most reactionary in the world is expressed first of all in the crude methods of plunder by means of which it attempts to hurl back the oldest and most civilized industrial states to the stage of colonial existence. But if Europe is to be deprived of its civilization, the achievements of this civilization, —which at the same time constitute its means of defense—must also be destroyed. The campaign of extermination waged by the German fascists against the national independence of the peoples is the inevitable concommitant of their policy of transforming Europe into a continent of colonial oppression.

But without the "unification" of the internal regime of European states this attempt would be doomed to failure beforehand. Striving for "unification" in no way contradicts the fact that there are a number of steps and transition stages for the "allied" and enslaved coun-

tries with respect to type, form and degree of "unification." Thus as regards the internal regime there is unquestionably a difference between Finland and Hungary on one hand and, for example, Poland converted into an occupied and enslaved "gouvernement general," on the other.

But the important thing is not the form of state administration but the internal regime. German fascism permits concessions as to the form of government but insists on adoption of the essence of the fascist state, on the realization of actual identity with it as far as the internal regime is concerned. Thus arose the "system" of foreign policy which constitutes a combination of cynical soberness, and of criminal madness and adventurism.

"Sacred egotism" is a highsounding phrase used to denote a total rejection of all moral restraints in pursuing imperialist aims. Hitler has developed this imperialist "sacred egotism" to the utmost degree.

The so-called standard of behavior developed by the German fascists for their foreign policy represents a true "code" of banditism.

In *Mein Kampf* as well as in Rosenberg's writings on questions of foreign policy methods of imperialist plunder are treated in a dry businesslike manner. But it is precisely this degradation of foreign policy to a mere technique of conquest, this cynical, naked staking on crude force as the "supreme wisdom of statesmanship," this total renunciation of such "prejudices" as ethics, humaneness, juridical concepts and international law, that express the whole insane adventurism and insolvency of Hitler's foreign policy.

In the final analysis the principal reason why fascist imperialism has nevertheless crudely and irreparably miscalculated, in spite of its unscrupulousness with regard to means, in spite of all its trumpeted "successes" in decisive questions of foreign policy, lies in its ignoring of the decisive factor—the people.

The grossest miscalculation of German imperialism was with regard to the Soviet Union. It did not take into account the stability of the Soviet system. It did not expect that a country without bourgeoisie and landowners, a multi-national country, would display the strong popular support necessary for conducting a patriotic war. The German fascists recognized only that kind of "patriotism" resulting from the abandonment by the working people of the defense of their class interests, and their subordination to the interests and orders of the bourgeoisie. They had no faith in a Soviet patriotism immensely strengthened as a result of the abolition of antagonistic classes and national oppression, and therefore they calculated on defeating the land of the Soviets within a short period. They saw as a weakness of the Soviet system what actually constitutes its strength.

Hitler had to pay with the lives of millions of soldiers to learn the

truth, that the Soviet system is the most stable in the world. But German imperialism miscalculated not only with regard to the Soviet Union.

The guilding idea which underlies Hitler Germany's foreign policy consists in securing the support of the Anglo-Saxon powers in order to receive in the West a free hand against the Soviet Union. The result obtained was the direct opposite: the Anglo-Saxon powers have firmly united with the Soviet Union against Hitler. This meant the failure of Hitler's plans, and as a result the bankruptcy of the main "principles" of his foreign policy.

"I guarantee you, gentlemen," stated Hitler, "that at the desirable moment I will reshape your America in my own fashion and that it will be our best support on the day when Germany will make the thrust from Europe to overseas expansion."

The attempt to worm his way into the confidence of the Anglo-Saxon powers was necessary for Hitler in order to become the leading force in the world coalition against the U.S.S.R. It was precisely with respect to the United States of America and Britain that Hitler placed the main emphasis on playing on the contradictions between classes. This plan collapsed not only because the whole world realized that behind his attempt to play the role of the vanguard of world reaction was the desire for absolute world domination by Germany, but also and primarily because, beyond the Lindberghs, Hearsts, Hoovers and Chamberlains, Hitler failed to see both the American and British peoples; the appeasers and capitulators obscured the nation from his view.

"It turned out," said Stalin, "that the German policy of playing on contradictions and frightening with the bogey of revolution has exhausted itself and it no longer fits in the new situation. Moreover, it not only no longer fits but it is pregnant with great dangers for the German invaders, for in the new conditions of war it may lead to the direct opposite result."

Hitler's chief miscalculation consisted in that he considered the victim peoples selected by him for deceit and attack no longer capable of genuine national upsurge, of straining all the strength of the nation.

He regarded the class struggle as a factor tending to divide and demoralize the nation because he calculated on national treason of the upper strata in the bourgeois states as a fact as imperative as a law of nature. He did not and could not understand that the spirit of national unity must awaken in peoples at the very moment when they would see the foreign invader threatening to destroy the very foundations of the existence of their national state.

The ephemeral successes of Hitler's foreign policy and his war machine were achieved at the cost of innumerable victims among the nations. They served as a painful

object lesson for all European peoples.

A few years ago fascist imperialism could still count on the sympathy of more or less influential bourgeois circles. Now it is compelled in a majority of countries to rely on the dregs of society, on a handful of corrupt elements rejected by the people, who have made state treason their profession.

The gangster methods of German foreign policy are characteristic only of such a government which hides the actual plans and aims of such policy from the people, which is in no way concerned about its support by its own nation.

At one time in the struggle against the anti-peoples' cabinet policy of the monarchies the popular masses demanded the abolition of secret diplomacy, the institution of a popular control over foreign policy.

They fought for respect of state sovereignty, for the right of every people to shape their own internal life in accordance with their own wishes.

In the struggle against the Hitler methods of deceit, lies and surprise attacks in violation of agreements, against gangster methods in foreign policy, the peoples are striving for restoration and realization of democratic principles in international relations.

This struggle of the peoples against the gangsterism of imperialist Germany has revived with new force the impassioned will expressed almost eighty years ago in the Inaugural Manifesto of the First International, the will for introducing in international relations "the simple laws of morality and justice."

Before our very eyes this will is increasingly becoming transformed into the powerful motive force of the struggle of the peoples against fascism and for the building of a new world after the irretrievably approaching and inevitable fall of fascism.

THE AGITATION AMONG GERMAN SOLDIERS IN OCCUPIED COUNTRIES

BY A. BLANCHE

MANY anti-fascists are of the opinion that justified hatred for the occupationists and the need to develop in every conceivable manner the most vigorous forms of popular movement against them preclude agitation among the German soldiers and work to disintegrate the German army. This point of view can by no means be considered a correct one. On the contrary, the burning implacable hatred for the foreign invader and the wide popular movement against the occupationists, if any, call for skillful, persistent agitation among the German troops. And the wider and more active the movement of the broad masses against the Hitlerite freebooters will be, the sooner will the German army split into two sections—the arrant Hitlerites and soldiers heretofore deceived by the fascist gang.

The movement against German fascist oppression must reach such scope and intensity within the near future as to make it clear to the German soldiers that as invaders an inevitable doom awaits them everywhere. Soldiers will then become more receptive to agitation against Hitler's war, they will the sooner grasp the point that they have the choice of either dying ignominiously for Hitler or of preserving their lives and saving the honor of their country.

Hitler's robber attack on the Soviet Union marked the turning point in the whole course of the war to the disadvantage of Hitler Germany. This, however, was first realized by many, including broad sections of the German population and German soldiers, only toward the end of 1941, when the German army began to suffer defeats, when the Red Army inflicted its crushing blows at Rostov, Tikhvin and Moscow, when the fascist hordes began to roll back to the west under the onslaught of the Red Army units.

Despite all promises made by the Hitlerite rulers, the war has become protracted. There are symptoms in

Germany indicating that her material resources and manpower reserves are beginning to run low. The food situation in the country has drastically worsened during the past few months. Since the war against the Soviet Union the Hitlerite rulers have twice cut down on the population's food rations, a cut averaging 40 to 50 per cent of curtailed norms existing prior to June 22, 1941. The country is experiencing an acute crisis in labor power. To make matters worse, it is precisely now that Hitler is obliged to withdraw tens of thousands of workers from war plants for the front.

The terrific losses sustained within the past ten months of war against the U.S.S.R. have made a particularly painful impression on the German rear and the German army. These losses have brought material changes in the Hitlerite army proper and especially among the troops stationed in the occupied countries. A considerable part of the German army's crack divisions has been wiped out at the Soviet-German front. The best trained divisions in the occupied countries have been transferred to the east and replaced in France and other occupied countries by old men, men unfit for active service, semi-invalids, men crippled in severe battles with the Red Army, by people who have had enough of Hitler's war. The proportion of older and very young contingents in the German army as a whole has increased. Its ranks are also being replenished by growing numbers of workers from big enterprises who were formerly exempted from active service.

Parallel with this the sentiments and mentality of the German soldiers are undergoing profound changes. Defeats, deprivations, losses, epidemics, a heavy winter for which the German army was unprepared, continuous retreat, growing weariness, a hostile atmosphere everywhere and the protracted nature of the war have broken the fighting spirit of the German army and started a process of disintegration. The German army today is no longer what it was only a half year ago.

Cases of German soldiers deserting their units stationed in Hitler-occupied France, Belgium, Holland, Norway and elsewhere have been increasing in number during the last few months. There are facts at hand of collective opposition, especially among occupation troops in France and Belgium. In France, German soldiers who were due to leave for the Soviet-German front mutinied in Vincennes, a suburb of Paris, and in Havre, in the south of France.

In the Belgian towns of Encine, Alost, Verviers, a group of German soldiers who refused to lose their lives in the "mordkesel" in the east disobeyed orders to leave for the front.

The new gallant fight that the Soviet and Yugoslav guerrillas are waging against the occupationists throws the German soldiers into panic. The very thought that they may be transferred from the occu-

pied countries of western Europe to the Soviet-German front grips them with fear and evokes bitter dissatisfaction. The dream of the German soldiers at the Soviet-German front is to return home as speedily as possible, and, failing that, at least to get to France. True, France is by no means the France of a year and a half ago, when the stores were still stocked with goods, when it was possible to buy everything with valueless occupation marks; things are not so peaceful there today as formerly. Nonetheless, life is not fraught with such danger as in the east. "Russia is not France" is the current phrase in the German army today. But this current phrase characterizes to a certain extent the profound disillusionment of the German soldiers following the unexpected turn the war took for them after Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union.

Nevertheless, the German army is still strong. Taken as a whole, it is still the obedient tool in the hands of the Hitlerite Command.

Naturally, many anti-fascists and particularly advanced workers ask themselves the legitimate question: Why is it that as yet there are no mass desertions among the German soldiers, that, with the exception of individual cases, they are not yet openly revolting, that they, nevertheless, obey orders of the Command, even though unwillingly? How do the Hitlerite rulers and Command retain their hold over the army at the present stage of the war? The answer to this question is of the utmost importance, for it alone supplies the key to proper agitation among the German soldiers in occupied countries of Europe, against Hitler's robber war.

Terror and espionage still constitute a strong weapon in the hands of the German fascist rulers. It is known that the privileged, purely fascist, élite armed force, the S.S. Divisions, exist in the Hitlerite army, united into an independent organization under the name of Waffe S.S. But the S.S. organization is not only the élite army inside the German army; it is also the police and terrorist organization which suppresses by force of arms any resistance to the orders of the Command, any mutiny or revolt among the German soldiers. The S.S. units are comprised of different types: adventurists, the riffraff of German society, elements who make murder their profession and consider war as the most convenient source of plunder and means to make a career. The S.S. Divisions are the Praetorian Guard of the Hitlerite rulers.

The last few months have witnessed major changes also in the composition of the S.S. units. A number of the S.S. divisions have bene completely annihilated, others have lost a great part of their old cadres in battle. The Hitlerites are thus compelled to clutch at everything they can lay their hands on to fill the gaps in the ranks of the S.S. divisions.

Besides this élite armed S.S. organization there are also small terrorist groups in the Hitler army

composed of Gestapo agents, officers and N.C.O.'s, functionaries of the fascist party and the "Hitler Youth." The whole fascist army from top to bottom is enmeshed with these groups, which spy on the soldiers and officers and follow their every move. The task of these terrorist groups is to prevent desertion, to suppress ruthlessly any attempt at mutiny or surrender as prisoners of war.

It is true that the ramified system of terror and espionage in the German army has its effects. But it is also true that once the German soldiers, who know that inevitable doom awaits them at the front, really begin to realize that death dogs them at every step, even in the rear, in the occupied countries, the terror within the army will gradually begin to lose its effects.

Another way in which the Hitlerites are today keeping their soldiers in subordination is through the much advertised hullabaloo about Hitler's "Spring-Summer Offensive." The Hitlerites are thus trying to raise the spirits of the German soldiers, to blind them with the illusion that this hopeless war will soon be over.

But countless times before the Hitlerite imposters promised their soldiers that the "coming" offensive would be the "final" effort which would bring peace! This is what Hitler promised in October and November of last year. This is what the Hitlerite rulers are asserting today. Many German soldiers, including even those who still believe in Hitler and his gang, now say: "Why are they driving us still further into the vast spaces of Russia? It won't lead to anything. Several more hundreds of thousands of people will perish for no good reason at all. Russia is too big to be conquered."

Others are beginning to realize that if Hitler failed to vanquish the Soviet Union when the surprise attack gave him the upper hand, today with this advantage gone his chances are even slimmer.

The Hitlerite rulers are also boosting Japan's successes in the war on the Pacific, thus trying to create the impression among the German soldiers that these successes will tide Germany over her difficulties. However, it is becoming increasingly clear to the German soldiers that it is in Europe on the Soviet-German front that the outcome of the war is being decided. They see that rich colonial possessions of the countries conquered by Germany—such as France and Holland—have fallen into Japan's and not Germany's hands. Thus Japan is waging a war in her own interests and not merely in the interests of Germany.

It is with alarm that the bulk of the German soldiers follow the expansion of the U.S.A.'s great military might—the largest industrial power in the world. And although Goebbels' propaganda is careful to keep the German soldiers ignorant of actual figures showing the sweeping development of America's war production, the reiterated and high-strung polemics of the German fascist press and radio against "Roosevelt's fantastic figures" show elo-

quently the indelible impression these figures have made on the German population and German soldiers.

The prime object of Hitlerite propaganda always was to present the mercenary interests of predatory German fascist imperialism as the interests of the German people. This propaganda strove to draw the masses into the war of the German imperialists for world domination through "ideological" means, interesting them in this war materially, associating them with the fascist gang, with the general hatred of the peoples for the German occupationists, and thus barring to the masses the path of withdrawal from the war. But at different stages of the war the Hitlerites strove to attain this objective in different ways, depending upon the situation at a given time. As long as the German army was winning one victory after another Hitler and his clique used this as their trump card. They promised the masses that a "blitzkrieg" would bring peace and prosperity. But once it became obvious that the war would be protracted, once the victories gave way to defeats, the Hitlerites were compelled to reorganize their propaganda.

That is why the Hitlerites are now frightening the German soldiers with the nightmare of defeat in an effort to keep them in subordination. Thus the head of the "labor front" would have the German workers believe that all Germans are in the same boat and once this boat sinks the whole German people must go under together with the Hitlerites. Goebbels for his part affirms that Hitler's defeat will "be the end of national life in Germany," that this defeat would inevitably "reduce all Germans to dust."

But an increasing number of German soldiers are beginning to realize that the German state existed many scores of years before Hitler, that it will continue to exist after him, that "Hitlers come and go, but the German people and the German state remain." (Stalin.)

The Hitlerites are also trying to play on fears haunting the German soldiers of the responsibility for the atrocities perpetrated by the Hitler army. Hitler's diabolical maneuver is to chain the German soldiers to the fascist gang in the fetters of jointly committed crimes.

Such are the main methods used by the Hitlerites to bolster up the spirit of conquest among the German soldiers, to fan their hatred for the peoples of the occupied countries and impel them to continue carrying out the orders of the German Command.

One of the most important prerequisites for a successful fight of all the anti-fascists, of all the peoples oppressed by Hitler, against his "spring-summer offensive" is to help shatter this refined system of fascist propaganda among the German soldiers. The success of the counter-offensive of the people in Hitler's rear greatly depends on how the agitation is carried out among the German soldiers, on activities to disintegrate the German army. This work cannot be post-

poned. Hitler's duped soldiers who are beginning, under the influence of blows inflicted by the Red Army and under the influence of a number of other factors, to waver and seek a way out of the quagmire into which Hitler has dragged them and Germany, must be won away from him as soon as possible.

The general purpose of this agitation is clear: to get the German soldiers to oppose Hitler's predatory war and start a drive for its cessation. But there is one concrete and immediate objective which the advanced anti-fascists must set themselves in their work among the German soldiers. This, above all, is to influence in every possible way entire units of German soldiers to refuse to leave for the Soviet-German front and to secure the population's full support of these sections. Further agitation among the German soldiers in occupied countries pursues the aim that German soldiers who are dispatched to the Soviet-German front disobey the Command's orders to go into action there, and surrender to Red Army units. Finally, this form of agitation is to encourage in every way both individual and group desertions of German soldiers in the occupied countries.

Many German soldiers who are against Hitler's war and who would readily desert the German army hesitate to take this step only because they do not know how to carry out their plan. Their units are stationed in occupied countries often very far from Germany. In the majority of cases they do not know the language of the country in which they are quartered. There is nobody there that they know and in their opinion no organization which could help them escape the persecution of the German Command. These soldiers are afraid to leave their units, thinking that the population, which justifiedly hates the German occupationists, would give them no quarter. It therefore follows that assistance given these soldiers by the population of occupied countries would materially contribute to mass desertion from the German army and thus undermine Hitler's military might.

One form of agitation among the German soldiers is the publication of special leaflets addressed to the German troops. This type of agitation is already practiced in France, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Yugoslavia and in other countries. True, as yet it is carried out on a very modest scale. This kind of agitation must be given wide scope and systematically developed. It is particularly essential that it be closely combined with the most concrete and all important task in the present stage of struggle—to frustrate all attempts of Hitler's "spring-summer offensive."

A leaflet, of course, is but one of the many forms of agitation among the German soldiers. Another is the spoken word. True, this type of agitation covers only individuals in each given case and is far more difficult to conduct. Nonetheless, it has a number of advantages. One of its major advantages is that it makes it possible to link up closely explan-

atory work among German soldiers with the organization of concrete actions on their part.

Experience has shown that the most effective agitation is that conducted from within by the German soldiers who have already convinced themselves of the hopeless and criminal nature of Hitler's war, of the need for resolute struggle to end this war. This kind of agitation, however, calls for the establishment of corresponding organization in units of the German army.

Leading anti-fascists know how for years the Hitlerites poisoned the minds of the masses with bestial chauvinism. They also know how the fascist regime of bloody terror held the masses of Germany in subjection. It is therefore clear to the anti-fascists that the establishment of such organization in units of the German army urgently needs their ideological and technical assistance. By helping to form soldiers' committees in the German army, or committees of struggle to cease the Hitler war, the progressive anti-fascists in the occupied countries will thus help to liberate their peoples from foreign oppression. In addition to carrying on agitation among the German soldiers, such committees could also give practical guidance in organizing soldiers' actions, mass desertions, protests, soldiers' revolts and mutinies.

A large number of the soldiers in the Hitler armies, particularly in occupation garrisons, which were replenished mostly with older contingents, are opposed to the Hitlerite war. But as yet these elements are scattered. In their agitation and organizational work, soldiers' committees and committees of struggle to stop the war could help to rally these opponents of Hitler's robber war and would thus hasten the process of disintegration of the Hitlerite army.

Vigorous, purposeful agitation among the German troops, adapted to the concrete situation, is today more than ever before vitally necessary for the French people and for all peoples of countries oppressed by Hitler Germany. The struggle of the peoples for their liberation is entering its decisive phase. It is not a question of years but of months and weeks.

Time will not wait!

The situation imperatively demands that the peoples immediately concentrate all forces and all means to strike at the bitter enemy of mankind, to strike at Hitler fascism!

THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE ARE STAUNCHLY FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE

BY P. ALLARD

THE struggle of the peoples in occupied Europe against the German yoke continues unabated, with Yugoslavia, as heretofore, in the front ranks of the anti-Hitler movement in countries enslaved by fascism. With the advent of spring the struggle of the Yugoslav guerrillas has become sharper and acquired greater scope. The German and Italian occupationists are taking every measure to defeat the heroic insurrection movement in Yugoslavia. Time and again the fascist chieftains have declared that they cannot tolerate the seething center of armed struggle in their rear which cannot but find repercussions in other countries.

Compelled to dispatch the majority of their troops to the Soviet-German Front, the occupationists are intensively training the remnants of their troops in Yugoslavia for active offensive operations. In their attempt to increase still more their superiority over the guerrillas the occupationists are dispatching to Yugoslavia armaments of every type. Above all they are putting the utmost pressure on their flunkeys, Nedic, Pavelic and other traitors of the Yugoslav people, demanding—under the threat of retaliation in the event of guerrilla successes—that they throw all their forces into the battle against the guerrilla movement.

The occupationists are also trying to profit from past differences between the separate nationalities in Yugoslavia, to incite one against the other, primarily the Croats against the Serbs. The guerrillas are courageously resisting the combined onslaughts of the hateful foreign enemies and their agents within the country. Stubborn battles, in the course of which many guerrilla detachments have struck heavy blows at the occupation armies, raged near Sarajevo—one of the biggest Yugoslav cities—throughout March and April. In the beginning of April a guerrilla battalion attacked an Ustashi transport en route to reinforce occupation troops with the result that the transport was smashed up, several officers and some fifty soldiers killed and others taken prisoner.

The guerrillas also destroyed five

truckloads of war supplies and captured many trophies, including rifles, automatic firearms, 3,000 cartridges, etc. During the fighting near Sarajevo the guerrillas routed a detachment of occupation troops and Ustashi, killing sixty officers and soldiers, taking eighty soldiers prisoner and capturing large quantities of war supplies.

To beat back the guerrilla attacks on Sarajevo the occupationists and Nedic are constantly compelled to throw fresh forces into action. Prolonged and intense fighting is in progress near the town of Rogatica, with several thousand guerrillas and occupation troops engaged in battles for this town. A large detachment dispatched from Serbia by the occupationists was completely routed by the guerrillas, the occupation troops losing some 100 dead and wounded. With the guerrillas' ring tightened around Rogatica the Germans are compelled to use transport planes to bring up reinforcements and provisions to the besieged garrison.

Four months ago Yugoslav guerrilla detachments encircled an Italian Alpine division near the town of Plevlja. During December alone the Italians lost 500 in killed and wounded. In March and April they made several futile attempts to break through the encirclement, invariably suffering heavy losses. At the end of March the 56th Italian Regiment near Bileca, Herzegovina, was ordered to advance against the guerrillas. In the ensuing battle the Italians were beaten back from the town. Another major victory was scored by the Herzegovina guerrillas in the middle of April. After stubborn battles the patriots occupied the town of Boric, situated on the Bosnia-Herzegovina border. Boric, an important base of the occupation troops, was strongly fortified and had a large garrison. About 3,000 guerrillas took part in the fighting, with artillery and machine guns at their disposal. The occupation of this point extends the liberated Yugoslav territory on both banks of the Neretva River.

Slovenia too has been the scene of heavy fighting. Recently Slovenian guerrillas scored considerable successes, carried out a number of attacks on occupationists in Ljubljana, capital of Slovenia, killing several hundred Italians and local traitors. Gripped by fear of the guerrillas, the Italians surrounded the city with barbed wire and a ring of fortifications. Four thousand local inhabitants suspected of sympathy and assistance to the national liberation movement were thrown into concentration camps in Italy. At the end of March large formations of Italians and Ustashi launched an attack against the guerrillas at Korduna, but there too success was on the side of the guerrillas, who completely wiped out one fascist battalion.

The guerrillas of Lika routed an Italian detachment and occupied Don-Lapac, capturing 12 machine-guns, 200 rifles, 25,000 cartridges and other war supplies. In the maritime region the guerrilla detachments blew up two Italian trains and liberated Mrakopolj, Ravna-

Gora and a number of other populated points. The same detachment wrecked the Zagreb-Split railway, which was out of commission for more than two months. Recently guerrillas wrecked an armored train near Bos-Novi.

The activities of the Yugoslav guerrillas are not restricted to military operations. They are also conducting considerable educational work among the population, explaining the aims of the national liberation struggle, systematically keeping them informed of news from the Soviet-German front, where the great Slavonic people that enjoys ardent sympathy in all Slav countries is locked in a decisive combat with the Hitler hordes. Guerrilla headquarters are issuing communiqués, leaflets, appeals and other printed matter.

The courageous struggle of Yugoslavia's guerrillas is exerting a growing influence on the neighboring countries. Recent weeks have seen an intensification in the guerrilla movement in Albania. The small but militant Albanian people, true to their glorious traditions of the national liberation movement, are rising against the Italian occupationists with ever greater determination. Albanian patriots frequently attack Italian officials, police officers and soldiers. Several guerrilla detachments are now operating in Albania. Some of them have established contact with the Yugoslav guerrillas and are conducting joint operations against the common enemy. Anti-Italian demonstrations recently held throughout Albania resulted in armed clashes with the occupationists in which many Italian fascists were killed.

In Norway, too, all attempts of Quisling, the appointed "head of the state," to bring about at least a weakening of the resistance on the part of the Norwegians have invariably met with failure. The people of Norway replied to the appointment of Quisling with active military operations, organizing explosions at the Oslo railway stations, setting fire to munition stores and attacking German troop trains. Resistance is spreading to the most varied sections of the population. It finds its manifestation in strikes of teachers, of lawyers, in mass withdrawals of members from trade unions, in anti-Hitler acts on the part of clergymen.

Throughout the black period of German occupation the Norwegian intellectuals have been siding with the people. When Quisling, soon after his appointment, ordered the fascization of schools and compulsory affiliation of all teachers with trade unions unified with the German model, the teachers refused to comply with the order and declared a strike in which 12,000 out of 13,000 of them participated. Schools suspended studies. Pupils stayed at home while their parents proclaimed solidarity with the strikers. The occupationists and Quislingites arrested and incarcerated 2,000 teachers. Many more have been shipped to northern Norway and Germany for forced labor. Nevertheless, the Norwegian teachers stoically continue to fight against the fascization of

schools, against attempts to mutilate the minds of the children by delirious fascist "ideas."

Frequently crowds gather near police detention stations where arrested teachers are kept; when prisoners are convoyed through the streets the people greet them with hearty ovations. Fearing a further growth of these anti-fascist demonstrations, the police brutally disperse the demonstrators. The Norwegian lawyers, too, answered with strikes when ordered to join the unified trade unions. Despite the fact that they were left jobless and subjected to severe repressions the Norwegian lawyers resolved to disobey the orders of the Berlin cutthroats directed against their people.

Indicative also are the unanimity and stoicism which mark the resistance of the Norwegian clergymen, who enjoy wide support of the masses. Conflict between the clergy on the one hand and German fascism and Quisling on the other broke out immediately following the occupation of Norway. The "new order," with its cynical gospel of misanthropy, its forcible unifications, aroused the indignation of the clergy. And when the Quisling minister of culture ordered the priests to adapt their sermons to the spirit of the fascist propaganda, matters reached an open clash. The priests, headed by Bishop Berggrav and other Bishops, discontinued services. The stubborn struggle between the Ministry and the Norwegian clergy lasted several months. Bishop Berggrav was removed and soon placed under police surveillance, obliged to report to the police precinct twice daily. When the occupationists proposed their own candidate to replace Berggrav they encountered a unanimous and categorical rebuff by Norwegian clergymen. The humiliation of Berggrav evoked profound indignation among the clergy and broad masses of Norway.

Wide sections of the population in Sweden, who are carefully watching everything that transpires in Norway, have openly voiced their condemnation of this act. Infuriated at the growing resistance of the clergymen, the occupationists resorted to adventure: Quisling proclaimed himself head of the Church of Norway and demanded unconditional obedience on the part of the clergymen, whereupon the majority of the churchmen, in protest against the maltreatment of Berggrav and the arrogant orders of Quisling, refused to conduct church services. This significant strike has already been in progress for more than two months. Bishop Berggrav was imprisoned and then sent to Germany.

The Ministry of Culture issued an order to close the churches whose priests refused to obey Quisling. But at this point the German occupationists had to "intervene" for fear of infuriating the entire population, including also those sections which had as yet taken no part in the anti-Hitler resistance.

The experience of Norway teaches us that the resistance of the intelligentsia acquires great significance when it merges with the general stream of the national liberation

movement, with the struggle of the working class, peasantry, handicraftsmen. With regard to effectiveness, its methods, its influence on the economic and political life of the country, the struggle of these sections, which constitute the majority of the population, is of decisive importance. The participation of the intelligentsia lends greater scope to the national liberation movement and fosters the cause of national uprising against the German occupationists.

Hetred for and resistance to German fascism are gaining strength in the countries which Hitler is desperately trying to plunge into the war, as he did in the case of Finland, Rumania and Hungary. This relates above all to Bulgaria. The stronger the pressure from Berlin, the more far-reaching the betrayal of Bulgaria's national interests by the ruling circles, the more persistent and energetic becomes the resistance of the Bulgarian people. It is expressed in open statements directed against drawing Bulgaria into the war; objecting to the country being flooded with German troops, who like insatiable locusts devastate the Bulgarian countryside. It is expressed in open manifestation of sympathy for the Soviet Union in streams of letters pouring in from every part of the country to government institutions and influential persons, protesting against the harmful policy intended to draw Bulgaria into the war on the side of Germany, and demanding a rupture with Hitler.

Among the opponents of the pro-Hitler orientation is a considerable part of the membership of the Democratic Party, which includes many ex-ministers, government officials and other prominent persons. Those circles, which were for many years connected with England, France and America, are staunchly opposing the policy of subordinating Bulgaria to German fascism.

Resistance is also growing among the peasants, who do not want to give up their grain, tobacco, their agricultural produce to the Hitlerites.

And last but not least there is the intensification of military operations of Bulgarian patriots, who refuse to reconcile themselves to unrestrained rule of the Hitler gang in Bulgaria and continue to strike blow for blow. Many a Hitler officer and soldier has met death in Bulgarian cities, ports and villages. Many a military objective has suffered at the hands of the patriots. Open clashes have been known to occur frequently between the Bulgarian and German army units. One such clash occurred recently in a Sofia abattoir which supplies meat to a German garrison. A detachment of German soldiers headed by an officer arrived at the abattoir demanding that all available stocks of meat be handed over to them. Bulgarian soldiers who also arrived for the same purpose protested against the brazen demand of the Hitlerites. The German officer declared that the Bulgarians must unconditionally submit to the Germans. An ensuing quarrel rapidly developed into an armed clash. The

Hitlerite officer fired his revolver, killing a Bulgarian officer, following which the Bulgarian soldiers attacked the Germans, killing eighteen soldiers.

Hitler soldiers sent to Bulgarian villages to requisition agricultural products, who outrage women and girls, frequently come up against stern resistance on the part of the rural population, who attack these violators with clubs, pitchforks and frequently also with firearms. In connection with recent events which testify to the fact that Bulgaria is being more and more drawn into the sphere of influence of fascist Germany, a number of open anti-Hitler actions took place with participation not only of soldiers but of officers.

Soldiers of the Bulgarian army who see Germans ruling their country unrestrained are increasingly protesting against Bulgaria being drawn into the Hitler war. The Bulgarian Army Command is greatly concerned by the growth of these sentiments and is taking every possible measure to convert the army into an obedient tool for carrying out Hitler's war plans, which are detrimental to the interests of the people. The Command is conducting a so-called purge of the officer staff, banning from the army all who defend Bulgaria's interests. Not content with banning "unreliables" from the army, the reactionaries are imprisoning many soldiers and officers. But all this merely increases the indignation of the people and the army at the treacherous acts of Bulgarian reaction.

Great indignation was evoked in Bulgaria also by the dispatch of Bulgarian troops to Yugoslavia to assist the Germans, who were compelled to withdraw their divisions to the Soviet-German Front. The progressive representatives of Bulgaria issued numerous leaflets calling upon the soldiers to refuse to fight against their Slav brothers, explaining the base aims of the Hitler gang and its obedient agents, who are sacrificing the interests of Bulgarian and Yugoslav peoples for the sake of fascist usurpers. There is a growing number of cases of the Bulgarian soldiers going over to the side of the Yugoslav guerrillas and together with them fighting against the German occupationists.

Of significance also is the formation of the Bulgarian guerrilla detachment which conducts joint operations with the Yugoslav guerrillas. The scope of the anti-Hitler movement in Bulgaria is illustrated by cruel repressions daily directed against the defenders of the country's national independence. In addition to the three large concentration camps there are some ten to twelve so-called labor camps in Bulgaria which in reality are no different from the former. At least 20,000 are languishing in these prisons. A special military prison recently set up for 1,500 persons is filled to capacity.

Exile of "undesirables" from larger cities and strategically important zones is practiced on a broad scale. There is hardly a village in the country without exiles. But these exiles brought to the countryside a

spirit of hatred for Germany, a spirit of protest against the new military adventures which Hitler is trying to force upon the country. However, no persecutions are able to break the resistance of the Bulgarian masses. The Bulgarian newspapers in service of their Berlin masters are openly boycotted by the people. The circulation of such newspapers as *Zora Utro* and *Dnevnik* dropped more than 50 per cent. But the greatest blow to the pro-Hitler press was the failure of all the Berlin-inspired versions about Germany's blitz campaign against the Soviet Union, about the "isolation" of the U.S.S.R., etc. Bulgarian patriots who exposed the falsity of this sort of dispatch and statement invariably turned out to be right while the mercenary fascist flunkeys were exposed as liars.

Leaflets, appeals, pamphlets and proclamations issued by true patriots of Bulgaria tell the masses about the heavy losses of the German army and the successes of the Red Army, about the strength of the anti-Hitler coalition, expose the true aims of the Hitler war, showing what danger German fascist imperialism constitutes for the country's national independence, expose the Hitlerite plunder in Bulgaria, etc. The leaflets contain slogans appealing for active resistance to German fascism and to the pro-Hitler policy of certain Bulgarian circles. The circulation of this truthful and eagerly read printed matter has acquired such scope that Sofia police have hired several dozen pensioners to tear down leaflets early in the morning after they have been posted during the night. The successes of the Red Army made a strong impression on the Bulgarian people. Characteristic of the sentiments of wide sections of the Bulgarian people was the following incident:

A German fabricated "newsreel" from the Soviet-German front was being shown in a Sofia cinema. Suddenly a voice rang out in the dark hall, "But the Russians will win!" The police immediately switched on the lights and began to search the hall. A young man rose from his seat and stated that he was ready to repeat that the Russians will win. . . .

The most popular slogans in Bulgaria are those advanced by the Bulgarian patriots: "Not a single division, not a single regiment, not a solitary soldier nor officer for Hitler's war against our liberator—the great Russian people!"

YUGOSLAVIA'S FIGHTING EXAMPLE

BY B. VOYNICH

APRIL marked one year since Yugoslavia was attacked and occupied by Hitler's mechanized hordes and Italian troops. The German and Italian invaders proceeded on the assumption that following the occupation of Yugoslavia's vital centers in April and May of last year the country could be garrisoned with a small force. Moreover the invaders hoped to find traitors willing to become their servitors. Thus the Germans and Italians planned to establish a base for operations in southeast of Europe. Nor did their plans end at that. Yugoslav territory was to be used to reward their vassals; her rich deposits of copper and other minerals, her granaries and war industries which would be made to produce for the Axis, were all to come under Nazi control. Yugoslavia, one of the larger Slav countries, loomed in their morbid imagination as a European colony whose soil and blood would feed the avid fascist beast.

But Yugoslavia's proud and freedom loving Slav people refused to surrender their country to the bloodthirsty conquerors and thus upset all these elaborate plans drawn up in Berlin and Rome. Now that one year after the fascist invasion has passed it is possible to strike a balance of what the people of this occupied land and their foreign oppressors have accomplished. Manifestly this balance is not a favorable one for the Nazis. Least of all is the present-day Yugoslavia reminiscent of a vanquished and prostrated colony, nor are its people anything like the dejected and obedient slaves the Nazis hoped they would be. Yugoslavia hasn't downed arms, nor has she bowed to the foe. Yugoslavia is fighting—fighting a life and death struggle against her bitterest enemy.

For the German and Italian forces the war in Yugoslavia did not terminate in April, 1941. In fact it continues to this very day. Far from being able to withdraw their troops from Yugoslavia as they indeed hoped to, the Nazis have been forced to dispatch to that country fresh contingents, including additional artillery and aircraft, and resort to the aid of their satellites, Bulgaria and Hungary.

After the Nazis had announced

that Yugoslavia was done for many thousands of German and Italian soldiers fell in battle with armed insurrectionists. Dozens of "punitive expeditions" dispatched to the mountains from Belgrade, Zagreb, Cetine and Trieste, were smashed up by rebel forces. All of the invaders' plans to utilize Yugoslavia's stores of arms and war industries have failed to materialize.

Yugoslavia possessed large stocks of arms and ammunition. After her armies had been defeated in action there was the danger that these supplies would fall into enemy hands as indeed was the case in Czechoslovakia, France and other countries. This, however, did not occur in Yugoslavia. The people retained a large part of these supplies and what could not be evacuated to the mountains was destroyed. Suffice it to recall the terrific explosions in the Central Government Army Depot at Smederevo near Belgrade. Flames enveloped the arsenal for several days and destroyed all the supplies.

The enemy also failed to take a large part of Yugoslavia's war industry. Yugoslavia had five aviation plants turning out up to ten planes and engines per day. All these plants situated at Kraljevo, Novy Sad and Rogatica were destroyed. Kragujevac, one of Yugoslavia's chief industrial centers whose ordnance plants employed thousands of workers, is now idle, for all of its mills have been put out of commission. These mills (and this is said not in any spirit of reproach to our brothers in the anti-fascist struggle at Skoda, Schneider-Creusot, Hotchkiss, Liège and other mills) no longer produce weapons for the annihilation of the Yugoslavs nor for the war against the armies fighting to liberate enslaved Europe. Yugoslavia's brave sons have seen to it that these old and famous mills were put out of order in good time.

The situation is much the same in every industry. The Germans could make little use of the copper mines at Bor on which so much hope was placed, nor the aluminum plants at Shibenik, nor did they receive lead, coal or other deposits of which the German industry stands so much in great need.

All the industries which could in any way serve the enemy armies have been wrecked by the Yugoslav patriots. Factories that survived and were put into operation by the invader are now the scene of widespread sabotage which in many cases disrupts the entire process of production, as was the case, for example, in the aluminum plant at Loznica, in the paper mill at Suschak and elsewhere. The Yugoslavs do not surrender their grain to the Germans and Italians. The invaders received only an insignificant part of what they counted on.

Yugoslavia is one of the storm centers of Europe. Her patriots show the people throughout occupied Europe how the invaders can successfully be fought behind their own lines.

Why have the fascist invaders failed to convert Yugoslavia into a colony and her people into abject

slaves? The answer is: guerrilla warfare! The traditions of Serbia's struggle against the foreign yoke in the past, and fresh memories of the people's opposition to German and Austrian occupation during the First World War have helped the Yugoslav people to chose the correct path in this war too. This path is the path of guerrilla warfare.

Guerrilla warfare began in Yugoslavia soon after the foreign troops occupied the country and Goebbels' professional liars announced to the world that Yugoslavia had been smashed and every grain of resistance crushed. Thousands of Yugoslav soldiers responded to the call of the leaders of the National Liberation Movement and made for the mountains. They took with them arms and ammunition and often artillery and even planes. City workers, civil servants and handicraftsmen took up arms. Intellectuals marched with the people; large numbers of school teachers, doctors, engineers and students joined the guerrilla movement.

Yugoslavia's patriots first and foremost rely on their own forces. They did not wait for delivery to come from without. Such things as doubt, passive waiting and submission, faced even though they were by overwhelming enemy forces, are unknown to Yugoslavia's national liberation movement.

These were difficult days but no difficulties daunted the Yugoslav people in declaring war to the death against their foreign oppressors. The outbreak of the German-Soviet war brought a sharp upward turn in the guerrilla movement. Inspired by the great example of Soviet resistance in which all the people played their part, the South Slav nations rose to fight Mussolini's hordes. The insurrectionist movement spread from province to province. From Central Serbia it extended to Bosnia and Herzegovina; it flared up in Montenegro and Slovenia and later came to the surface in Croatia.

Not all the guerrilla fighters took to the hills; part of them remained in enemy-occupied areas. Experience has fully vindicated this division of forces, for the occupation forces were thus subjected to blows from the front by guerrilla detachments and from the rear, where day and night they were attacked by intrepid patriots. Thus the Germans and Italians were caught by the vise of popular wrath.

The division of forces also made it easier to maintain contact between the various units, gather information on the enemy's plans, foster the fighting spirit of the population, conduct propaganda among the people and recruit supporters and fighters.

A few months after Yugoslavia's defeat her hills were filled with guerrilla fighters and continuous attacks on the enemy began in the towns. From the mountain districts the guerrilla warfare spread to the plains of Dalmatia and Vojvodina. Here the guerrilla detachments worked out their own methods of resisting the occupation forces and accomplished probably no less than the guerrillas in the mountain dis-

tricts. When the fascist invaders attempted to loot the food stocks they came up against organized armed resistance of the Serbian peasantry. In every village the Nazis had to confiscate grain by sheer force and after sharp clashes. Guerrilla detachments ambushed and attacked German requisition units, retrieved stolen grain and annihilated the Nazis. By their incessant attacks the guerrilla fighters of Dalmatia and Vojvodina have kept the German units in a state of constant tension and fear.

Things reached a head in the autumn of 1941, when the order was issued to burn all cornfields, for several hundred meters on each side of the railways and highways. The patriots retaliated by setting fire to ripe grain fields. The Yugoslav peasants preferred to destroy the fruits of their labor rather than have them devoured by fascist locusts. In this way thousands upon thousands of acres of corn, wheat and other grain were burned. The Nazi invaders could find but little to remove from Yugoslavia's fertile valleys.

The experience of the national liberation movement in Yugoslavia shows how important it is to make a start. Wherever even small groups of guerrillas appear they quickly grow by attracting new recruits. The guerrilla fighters are flesh of the flesh and blood of the blood of their people and enjoy their constant and unremitting support. There is no lack of reliable defenders and confederates among the people, who are always prepared to hide the guerrilla fighters from the far stronger enemy and, whenever the opportunity offers, to strike together at the Nazis.

The development of guerrilla action against the Germans and Italians has had a tremendous influence on the population in general. The very appearance of guerrilla troops in any province immediately results in a change of the situation there. The populace is now convinced that it is possible to fight the Nazis, that they can be beaten and that there is no need to bear their arbitrary rule and tyranny without protest or counter-action. Peasants have refused to surrender provisions, houses and wagons to the army of occupation. Industrial workers and particularly those engaged in war industries which were seized by the enemy, have downed their tools or put whole factories out of commission. Teachers have refused to educate the children in accordance with fascist instructions and have taught them to hate the invader.

Civil servants regard the guerrilla fighters as the rightful representatives of their country and refuse to recognize the authority of Hitler's Gauleiters and Quislings, big and small. The appearance of guerrilla bands in any locality enables every citizen to join them, and many have in this way escaped persecution at the hands of the Gestapo. Once among the guerrillas they are sure that they will never become hostages and will be given shelter once they have escaped from concentration camps, German

prisons, or deserted from a war plant. Thus in many cases the adherents of the national liberation movement find affiliation to the guerrilla detachment much safer than "ordinary" life under a regime of occupation. In short, the guerrilla movement provides a way out for all the honest and courageous patriots who abhor the idea of falling under the yoke of German fascism, of becoming fully dependent on the will and mercies of Hitler's satraps, knowing that their fate may become worse at any moment.

It can be assumed that in every occupied land this factor—the beginning of guerrilla struggle—is of outstanding importance. It is important to make first and decisive steps to raise and direct the armed action against the Nazi rule and organize initial groups of steadfast and brave men to fight for the liberation of their country. Once this is done the guerrilla movement will develop at a rapid pace. One of the differences between the guerrilla army and the regular force is that composition of the latter is usually determined from the very first days of its formation, while the guerrilla army is constantly increasing by bringing into the struggle new sections of the population. The history of the national liberation movement of many countries shows famous guerrillas with small and scattered detachments. A very important part in the successful development of the guerrilla movement in Yugoslavia is played by the popularization of heroic feats of Soviet guerrilla fighters.

The immortal deeds of the intrepid sons of the Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian and other peoples of the U.S.S.R. who have risen in combat against the vile descendants of the Teutonic "cur knights," have inspired the Yugoslavs to new battles with the forces of occupation.

Worn down by long engagements and marches, the guerrilla fighters of Serbia, Bosnia, Slovenia and other Yugoslav provinces draw fresh vigor and determination from news of the Soviet peoples' defense of their country. The example set by the Soviet guerrilla fighters is being emulated. Just collect ten or fifteen brave and devoted Frenchmen, Czechs, Poles or representatives of other occupied lands and tell them of the nationwide guerrilla struggle raging in the U.S.S.R., tell them how the Soviet guerrilla fighters wreak vengeance on the German cutthroats for the murder of their children, brothers and fathers, for their dishonored wives and daughters, relate to them the moving tale of the diverse means of struggle evolved by the Soviet people in their fight with the invader, and your listeners will inevitably ask: how can this be done here? All honest men groaning under the fascist yoke give vent to an ardent desire to follow the example of the Soviet people.

By autumn of last year Yugoslavia's scattered guerrilla detachments established contact and joined forces. The guerrilla army which numbered several score thousand men at its inception soon

topped the hundred thousand mark. The Germans, on the other hand, were compelled to withdraw troops to the Soviet-German front where the Red Army was smashing one German division after another. This enabled the guerrillas to take the offensive against the Nazi forces, and they soon began to win back towns and liberate whole provinces. Operations were on a large scale with both sides throwing into the fighting several thousand men and with artillery, German and Italian motorized units and air forces playing an important part.

But victory was with the guerrillas, who succeeded in laying siege to many large cities including Kragsi, Parachin and Jagodina. The guerrilla forces tightened their ring around Belgrade. Towns like Uzice, Cacak, Sabac, Gorni, Milanovac and others were liberated from the Nazis several months ago.

The Italian forces of occupation have been ousted from a large part of Montenegro. Montenegrins, known for their proud feeling of freedom and exceptional bravery, give Mussolini's bandits no rest. They drive them out of towns captured in the early stages of the war, cut them off from Adriatic ports and thereby make it impossible to bring up reinforcements, or force them into mountain gorges only to meet certain death. A considerable part of the Yugoslav territory has thus been liberated from the enemy.

Isolated guerrilla detachments developed into a popular guerrilla army of national liberation. It has its central command and headquarters and maintains contact with units operating in various parts of the country. These successes scored by the guerrillas served to stir the masses of the population to struggle. The rapid advance of the guerrillas forced the occupation forces to hastily bring up reinforcements. Berlin and Rome brought strong pressure to bear upon their hirelings, Pavelich and Nedic, the executioners of the Yugoslav people. They were ordered to get together their cutthroats and in conjunction with German and Italian units to march against the guerrillas.

October, November and December were marked by particularly fierce fighting with the army of national liberation holding back the enemy's new offensive. This time, too, the Nazis failed to score a victory. Compelled to withdraw under pressure of the enemy armed to the teeth, the guerrillas maintained their basic forces intact.

During the winter when Hitler's troops, worn down by incessant fighting and difficult marches across mountainous terrain, decided to rest and spend the winter in warmth, the guerrillas again attacked them and forced them out into the frost and in several districts hurled them back.

With spring setting in, the struggle in Yugoslavia flares up with fresh force. German authorities, ever more scared by the influence that Yugoslavia's example

is bound to have on other subjugated countries, are preparing a "decisive" offensive against the guerrillas. But Yugoslavia's unyielding fighters are determined to hold out to the last drop of blood.

The question naturally arises: what is the situation in other occupied European countries? Will the national liberation movement there assume more active and militant forms in the near future? Will it be long before the Czech, French, Austrian, Polish and Dutch people launch an offensive against the detested German fascists? The experiences of Yugoslavia show that guerrilla warfare against German fascism is possible and that guerrilla warfare waged by a nation fighting for its liberation has every chance of success.

History shows that the national liberation movement has always been intimately linked up with guerrilla warfare. This was true of the Yugoslavs, who for many years fought their foreign oppressors; it is true of Spain, where the guerrillas refused to bow to Napoleon who had not known defeat in Europe until his drive on Moscow; it is true of the Czech Taborites, of Kosciuszko's insurgents in Poland, and France's Tereirs in France. But all this was long ago, in the days before automatic weapons and motorized units or armored fortresses on caterpillar treads were capable of penetrating into the heart of a country with astounding speed. But can guerrilla warfare be waged under present conditions when it is a matter of fighting foreign armies of invasion who are well equipped with modern weapons?

Yugoslavia's guerrillas have shown that this is quite feasible. The devil is not as frightening as he is painted, the Yugoslav guerrillas say. Hitherto Hitler and Mussolini, for all their tanks, aircraft, automatic and mechanized murder, could do nothing with Yugoslavia, for the iron staunchness of her patriots and their love of freedom is stronger than any force on earth. Such is the first lesson to be drawn from the experience of the liberation movement in Yugoslavia.

The next lesson following from Yugoslavia's experience is that guerrilla warfare is one of the most effective methods of resisting the German army of occupation and represents a higher form of the national liberation movement. It need hardly be pointed out that passive resistance, no matter how widespread, cannot inflict any serious damage on Hitler's forces of invasion. Undoubtedly go-slow work, spoilage of output and raw materials, breakdowns of machinery and similar methods all play their part. Slogans expressing the people's hatred of fascism are also important. But even the most active and widespread forms of resistance, the go-slow work and sabotage in industry, never yield the same results as widely developed partisan warfare. The fascist invaders try to make up for the decline of output caused by sabotage by greatly extending the number of factories producing for their war machines.

A single serious act of destruction undertaken by bold patriots against the most vulnerable and key spot of any industrial establishment will yield far greater results than bringing the output down several per cent by go-slow work. Fires breaking out in war plants, munition dumps and oil depots destroy the results of many months of work. A partisan raid on a railway junction, the destruction of railway lines and particularly of bridges or strategically important roads, cause tremendous damage to the German war machine.

Yugoslavia's guerrillas have every right to declare: "Look at our country. We have blown up hundreds of bridges, destroyed dozens of railway stations and many kilometers of railway lines and roads. Our roads no longer serve the enemy, for he cannot use them to bring up reinforcements or remove booty from the country."

The German and Italian forces of occupation are making desperate attempts to use the highways leading to the Austrian and German frontier, to the Adriatic and to Greek ports. But time and again the Yugoslav guerrillas destroy the roads as soon as they are repaired. Regular service is maintained only on the Belgrade-Nish line and even that with great difficulty and with armored blockhouses containing dozens of German soldiers erected at almost every mile of the line. But even on this line trains are often derailed and traffic brought to a standstill. Is it not possible to prevent the German domination of railways in France and Czechoslovakia, Belgium and Holland, Austria and Poland and in other occupied lands? This can be done by organizing guerrilla action. Every patriot fighting with the guerrillas has the advantage of not having to look back for fear he may be caught in active sabotage, in slowing down his work or in some other anti-fascist act. A worker eager to fight the occupation forces with old methods and not prepared to take up a more active struggle is compelled to work under the guise of a loyal worker and prove this by his performance of his job. No such considerations, of course, prevail with the guerrilla fighter.

The fascist hordes running amok in occupied Europe cannot be ousted nor can the liberation of the oppressed peoples be achieved without armed struggle. All other forms of resistance are but a means of defense. But to abolish the Nazi "new order" requires offensive action. Now, with the Red Army engaged in a fierce battle with German fascism, is the most suitable moment for this offensive. By combining their efforts with the heroic struggle of the Red Army, patriots in occupied lands have every chance of making 1942 the year of Hitler's total defeat. And since at this time the peoples of occupied lands have no regular army capable of coming out against the foreign invader, guerrilla warfare presents the highest and most effective form of national liberation struggle. But that armed struggle requires weapons is a retort that may well be

made. In Yugoslavia many weapons remained in the hands of soldiers who found their way home after the defeat of the government army. In addition no few arsenals were captured by the guerrillas. But a similar situation prevailed practically in every occupied land, including France, Holland, Belgium and Poland. Secondly, arsenals are not the only source for arming guerrillas. Arms can and are being procured by diverse means—by capturing old army stores, manufacturing weapons at small establishments organized in guerrilla controlled districts, by buying them from enemy soldiers, particularly Italians, who are only too willing to engage in such trade, and mainly by capturing weapons when attacking the enemy's detachments and transport trains.

Many thousands of Yugoslav guerrillas are armed with captured rifles, automatics, machine-guns and in places even with artillery. In countries where such world-famous plants as Skoda, Hotchkiss, Schneider-Creusot and others are turning out weapons for the occupation forces, arms can undoubtedly be procured. One more question that usually arises in connection with the Yugoslav guerrillas is that of the hardships and sacrifices entailed in the struggle. It should be borne in mind that Yugoslavia made her greatest sacrifices before the outbreak of the guerrilla warfare. In Belgrade and other Yugoslav towns Hitler's barbarians perpetrated a veritable bloodbath which took the lives of many thousands. German and Italian troops were looting Serbia, Bosnia, Slovenia, Herzegovina, Croatia and other districts of the country. The guerrilla movement in many cases was the people's reply to the hideous acts of the Nazi brutes.

At present too thousands of people in occupied Europe are the victims of Hitler's "new order." And how many thousands of workers who were forcibly brought to Germany from the occupied lands die under the burden of hard labor for the fascists! Think of the numbers who fall from disease, hunger and want—concomitants of Nazi rule. Think of the mortal danger that every month of German occupation holds out for the European peoples, who now face the horrors of a hungry spring and summer. Look at Greece. Half of her population is dying of hunger. The same fate threatens other peoples if they do not save their fields from the fascist locusts. Just think of all the industrial workers toiling for the Germans and risking their lives during air raids. It stands to reason that the Allies cannot give up the destruction of industry manufacturing deadly weapons against the armies that bring Europe liberation. But the workers employed in these industries can save their own lives and help overthrow the German yoke if they leave these factories and join the guerrillas.

Therefore life itself and stark realities now present the question of sacrifice in a different light. No longer is it a question of whether there will be victims or not. The

question stands differently, namely, are the peoples of occupied Europe going to bear the burdens and sacrifices of the battle for their liberation and to bring near the hour of victory, or will they make countless sacrifices simply to intensify their own slavery and consolidate the hated Hitler oppression while their sons die of hunger and pestilence or are doomed to backbreaking toil in the industry working for the fascist war machine? Are they going to die in bombed war plants, at the scaffold and as hostages? The entire present situation imperatively demands that precisely to avert numberless victims, in the name of saving millions of lives from certain death in countries under the fascist rule, including Germany itself, patriots must rise to armed struggle against Hitlerism. One has but to think what fate awaits the fascist monster which constantly demands new sacrifices when people arise against it from one end of Europe to the other.

With this thought in mind one can well realize that guerrilla warfare is attended by the least sacrifice and moreover leads to victory. Only those who seek to justify their own inactivity or who await liberation from German occupation as a result of struggle and sacrifice by other nations now complain of burdens and sacrifices. Among the millions in the occupied lands there are certain circles who hope to live in peace with the German invaders or to curry favor with them by their mute obedience. By giving up all resistance they wish to gain for themselves a shameful and slavish existence, one that will allow them to avoid the risk of struggle. Frightened out of their wits by the rapid advance of Germany's troops across Europe they close their eyes to the defeat of these troops at the Soviet-German front. They fail to see the profound antagonism that is tearing Hitler's regime to pieces and bringing out its weaknesses ever more clearly. Like timid mice they think that theirs is a plan of adaptation to the new regime which they regard as strong and stable and hold that it is dangerous to oppose it. But every honest patriot spurns these men. Their "arguments" against the guerrilla movement are based on the rotten, crumbling foundation of self-interest, cowardice and refusal to defend their national liberty and native soil.

Thus the experience of the guerrilla warfare in Yugoslavia shows that it is not at all a matter of mountainous terrain, or of possessing arms left over by the old army, but first and foremost it is a matter of the fighting determination of the wide masses of patriots to take up the struggle against fascist slavery, not hesitating to abandon the customary conditions of peaceful life, to share the difficulties and inevitable losses of the struggle.

The question is essentially one of close intimate contact between the guerrilla fighters and the people at large. Lastly it is a question of preparedness and ability of the

foremost anti-fascists to begin the movement, to give impetus and leadership to the guerrilla warfare and to continue constantly to direct it. In short it is not a question of objective conditions and potentialities, for these exist in every occupied country. The main and decisive factor is the people, the vanguard of the wide masses of the anti-fascist front in each country.

The outstanding representatives of the peoples of occupied Europe can indeed learn from the Yugoslav example. It can serve them as effective means of overcoming the moods of passive waiting fostered by certain circles of cowards and selfish men. It must be borne in mind that the reactionary leaders of the Second International have for years been advocating the rotten opportunist conception that popular armed struggle against a modern army is impossible. One of the keystones of Social-Democratic opportunism is the idea that mass popular action against troops armed with artillery and automatic weapons is technically impossible. They do not believe in tactics of barricade fighting. No doubt these Social-Democratic views, which have done much to poison the minds of the masses, are still current in several European countries. They explain to a large extent the absence of militant guerrilla struggle in many occupied lands and above all in Czechoslovakia, that Slav country so near to Yugoslavia.

The example of Yugoslavia shows that guerrilla struggle against the fascist enslavers is not only feasible but has every chance of success. Particularly now have favorable conditions been created for a mighty development of guerrilla warfare in the Nazi's European rear.

The Soviet-German war has drastically changed the position in Europe. The forces of the enslavers have been weakened very considerably, while those of the people have grown incomparably. Millions of men and women in all the European countries have witnessed an astounding change—the transformation of an "invincible and conquering" army into an army that has been weakened and has suffered severe defeats. From France, Belgium, Poland, Greece, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Norway Hitler withdrew his brazen and cocksure warriors, decked them out in armor and hurled them at the Eastern Front to repeat their blitzkrieg successes. Most of them have found graves on the vast expanses of the Soviet plains, brought down by the bullets and bayonets of the Red Army. On returning from the Soviet-German front these crippled, frost-bitten and lice-infested German soldiers are void of their haughtiness and are rapidly losing faith in Germany's victory. Within the German army there is an inexorable process of disintegration. Discipline is deteriorating and among the soldiers there is maturing the realization of the unjustness of this war started by Hitler. Everywhere there is the burning desire for peace. Ever more often the German soldiers in France, Bel-

gium and other countries refuse to obey orders to leave for the Soviet-German Front. Thousands of deserters are in hiding in the occupied lands. Can such an army inspire fear and intimidate the whole of Europe?

The war against the Soviet Union has resulted in a colossal tension of all Nazi Germany's forces. The Red Army's offensive which began in December, and is tenaciously continuing since, has snatched the initiative from the German fascists and today they are searching Europe for new sources of cannon fodder. In Germany proper old men and 17-year-old youngsters, as well as invalids and workers in war industry, have been called to the colors. In mustering her last reserves to replenish her greatly depleted ranks Germany is depriving her hinterland of effective forces. Most of the European countries save for small detachments of picked Gestapo butchers are garrisoned by units of little military value made up of wounded, returned from the Soviet-German front, semi-invalids and old men. Nor should it be forgotten that German occupation covers countries with an aggregate population of 145,000,000. The peoples oppressed by fascism have colossal superiority in numbers. The German garrisons scattered over the whole of Europe from Narvik to Athens are but a drop in an ocean and can be quickly accounted for by a mighty upsurge of the national liberation guerrilla warfare movement. The peoples of occupied Europe see that German fascism is straining its last bit of strength to maintain its grip on its booty. They see that these sinister vehicles of "new order" are less inclined to speak of their mission to conquer Europe and are more wont to speak of "saving Germany" from imminent defeat, falsely linking up their fate with that of the German people. They see that Hitler's ringleaders are themselves constrained to admit the might, heroism and fortitude of the Soviet troops and the supreme bravery of the Soviet guerrilla fighters. They see that the Hitler clique is afraid of the Red Army and that it shudders at the very prospect of a second front being opened in Europe, that it lies low in all occupied lands, where it feels the universal and mortal hatred of the whole population.

Will this army prove capable of standing up against the peoples resolved to decisive guerrilla warfare for the liberation of their native land? Finally, the peoples in the occupied lands are not the same as when German fascism attacked them. They have felt from their own experience the nightmarish burden of foreign fascist yoke. They have seen too well that for them Hitler's "new order" means simply a lot of colonial slaves toiling for Berlin bankers, Prussian Junkers and criminal fascist new rich.

With every day it becomes increasingly clear that the insatiable fascist beast is facing mortal peril, that it will not loosen its grip on its victim and will try hard to carry the victim with it to its doom. The

ruthless and ever-intensifying national and political yoke, the inhuman regime instituted by the Nazis, confront the peoples of occupied Europe with the inexorable question—to be or not to be? There is no third way out. The peoples are more than ever aware that the only correct path is the path of resolute and supremely devoted struggle, for it alone leads to victory.

Spring is here, after it will come summer, the best time for all-round development of guerrilla warfare. Patriots who have made active militant preparations against the hated fascist invaders will find shelter not only in the towns and villages but in the hills, forests and fields. They will find food and support in every home, for they are fighting to liberate the people and redeem their fatherland. The guerrillas of Yugoslavia are preparing for the spring and summer. They are mobilizing, arming new forces, working out plans for the coming battles and carrying on extensive agitation among the people to enlist even greater support for the movement. And if the Yugoslav patriots are joined by patriots of other occupied lands who are inspired by the great example of the Red Army and the Soviet guerrilla fighters, and take up active struggle against German and Italian fascism, this will kindle the flames of the European national liberation war, which will be of tremendous support to the Red Army operating at the main front and can accelerate the downfall of German fascism and the liberation of Europe from its shameful yoke.

THE ITALIAN PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE AGAINST MUSSOLINI AND HITLER FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

(May Day Manifesto of the Communist Party of Italy)

COMRADES: We are at the eve of May Day. Once again we have to celebrate the international festival of labor struggle under the yoke of fascist tyranny. But how profoundly the situation this year differs from the situation of previous years!

The fascist tyrants Hitler and Mussolini, thirsting for conquest, acts of violence and the spilling of blood, have hurled entire Europe and the entire world into the abyss of war.

Like wild beasts, they hurled themselves against the free peoples and states, so as to subordinate them to their yoke. They made so bold as to make a perfidious onslaught on the Soviet Union, this mighty great state of the workers and peasants, the land of socialism.

Throughout the world from one end to another, peaceful labor has ceased; rivers of blood of the working people are flowing; death and destruction are threatening hundreds of millions of people everywhere. . . .

Workers! The present war was undertaken by our mortal enemies, Hitler and Mussolini. As the representatives of the greediest imperialist groups and the blackest reaction, they want to destroy the freedom of all peoples; they want to drive the workers of the entire world into slavery; they want to close for all time the path to all social progress.

With this aim, having laid waste half of Europe with fire and sword, they hurled themselves on the Soviet Union and are now concentrating against it all their forces.

But the fascist bandits miscalculated.

The factory workers, all the working people, the free peoples of all the world, understood that their fate was being decided in the present war.

The alternative is either to fight to the death today until the fascist hydra is destroyed or slavery perhaps for more than an entire generation.

That is why there has been formed and is every day gathering strength, a powerful bloc of the peoples who have no wish to be deprived of their independence, of all the states and all the peoples to

whom freedom is dear and who have sworn to destroy fascism.

This bloc is headed by the Soviet Union, a country where there are no longer big capitalists, exploiters and parasites; a country where labor is free and where the people are masters of their own destiny.

This bloc is headed by the great workers' and peasants' Red Army, which in the course of ten months of heroic struggle destroyed the German army's best divisions, inflicted a mortal blow on German imperialism and fascism, and today under Stalin's leadership is confidently advancing to victory.

Working people! The victory of the Soviet Union and the bloc of democratic countries that have rallied around it is not only assured; it is near.

This year, 1942, the fascist brigands must and will be routed. From one end of Europe to the other the peoples are rising up who had fallen under the yoke of the German and Italian imperialism, are taking to arms, are flinging themselves into gigantic conflict against Hitlerism and fascism—mankind's mortal enemies.

The democratic countries are preparing to undertake an offensive. The Red Army, which today is the most powerful army in the world, is preparing to bring to naught the last frantic efforts of the Hitler war machine and to rout it finally.

Hitler and Mussolini are already feeling the inevitability of their doom.

The hour of their doom, the hour of liberation, is coming near.

Workers of Turin and Milan! Comrades! The time for action has come.

May Day this year will be throughout the world an international day of open struggle of the workers of all political trends, of the working people and nations against fascism. Let us take our place at the fighting posts, let us close our ranks in this struggle. The days have passed when many of us could think that the strength of the fascist regime was too great for us to be able to enter into struggle with it with hope of success.

Fascism has hurled the entire country into poverty. It has spread ruin in all sections of society. It has trampled our nation's interests underfoot and insulted the national feelings of all citizens by transforming the country into the vassal of German imperialism.

To be able to continue the war which is serving the interests of Hitler imperialism, Mussolini is driving Italy toward awful catastrophe.

Discontent reigns everywhere, and with every passing day there is growing in the state apparatus and army the number of those who understand that if the country is to be saved it is necessary, as rapidly as possible, to put an end to the war, to recall the troops who are far away from the native land, to conclude a separate peace.

Within the fascist party itself there are increasing trends of opposition to Mussolini's policy, for even the fascists who have not sold

themselves to the foreigner understand that this policy is ruinous for the country.

In the countryside the peasant masses in an open way revolt against the war measures which are ruining them and hurling them into poverty for the sake of strengthening the war machine of the Germans.

Among all sections of the people reigns a strong hatred for Mussolini's tyranny which has deprived the people of freedom and is now dooming them to starvation.

The country is waiting for the boldest ones to give the signal for the struggle!

Workers! Your hour has come! The time has come when the working class must unite all its forces and take the lead in the struggle to put an end to the regime which threatens to bring ruin to your existence as a nation. The time has come when the working class must stretch out a hand to all who understand that only by putting an end to the war as rapidly as possible can the country be saved from ruin.

Workers! Your hour has come! The slogans of freedom and peace are inscribed on the banners of the working class before all others—freedom so that the Italian people may be able to participate in political life; peace so that the Italian people may be able to heal their wounds.

Freedom of organization and press! Freedom to the peasants so that they may be able to cultivate their land as they themselves decide and to do as they will with its yield.

Demand the restoration of the constitutional guarantees! Enough uncontrolled license! Enough of violence and terror! Enough of hated tyranny, of caste, of plutocrats, of parasites, of lackeys, of foreign masters.

Workers! Your hour has come! Stretch out your hand across the frontiers and war fronts to our Soviet brothers, our comrades, in France, Yugoslavia, England and America, to all those who are fighting for freedom.

Raise aloft the banner of revolt against war, against fascist tyranny, for freedom and peace. On May Day unfold the Red Banner, throw out of the factories the fascist spies, come out on the streets, demand bread, peace and freedom.

Women all, working women! Join in the struggle of your brothers, your sons and your husbands. Wrest your loved ones out of the clutches of those who want to send them to the slaughterhouse on the fronts of the imperialist war for the sake of the interests of Hitler and the Germans.

Demand bread for your children!

Working people in soldiers' uniform! Soldiers! Demonstrate in the barracks against the war and for peace.

Join forces with the workers and people so as together to fight against the hated fascist regime which is sending you to death and dooming the country to ruin.

Refuse to go to the front!

Desert from the ranks!

Turn your guns against the butchers of the people!

Working people of Italy! Rise up and struggle!

Down with German imperialism and its lackey!

Down with fascism; down with war; down with Mussolini!

Long live the fighting alliance of the working people and the free people of the entire world against fascist barbarism!

For bread, peace and freedom!

STRENGTHEN THE ANTI-FASCIST FRONT OF WOMEN THROUGHOUT THE WORLD!

(Appeal adopted at an anti-fascist Women's Meeting in Moscow, May, 1942)

MOTHERS, wives, sweethearts, daughters, sisters! We are on the eve of decisive battles against bloodthirsty German fascism. The doom of the scoundrel Hitler and his clique is close at hand. The mask has been torn from Hitler's gang. They are murderers, thieves, adventurers, depraved characters, political liars. They are the worst enemies of the women and children of the entire world. They are enemies of life, of peace on earth.

The record of the crimes perpetrated by the German army is endless, its outrages unparalleled. The German invaders in the towns and villages of Byelorussia, the Ukraine, the Crimea, inflict unheard-of shame and outrages upon women. Many thousands of women and girls are forcibly deported to the slave market in Germany. In the occupied lands German fascism is reviving serfdom, reducing Soviet women to slavery.

The German fiends torture our children, shoot and execute minors. Today they are doing this in Kiev, Minsk, Poltava. Tomorrow, if we do not halt all this, they will try to do the same in London and New York, Stockholm and Montevideo.

Women, the ten months of the great war of liberation waged by the Soviet people against fascist Germany have dispelled the myth invented by Hitler's lackeys about the invincibility of the German army. Sensing their doom, the Hitlerites are putting up furious resistance, not stopping at anything, resorting to every crime and villainy. But this is their agony before imminent death. Germany's manpower reserves are running low, her stocks, oil and raw materials are running low. The German people have been bled white by the war. The gangs of Hitler's flunkies may still keep up their insolent bragging but the German people are beginning to realize that it has been hoodwinked by Hitler. Disintegration has set in among the German troops. Despondency is rising in Germany.

The Soviet Union, however, its Red Army and home front, have grown stronger, better organized, more experienced during these months of war. Our reserves of

manpower are inexhaustible. We have now more arms and hatred for the fascist villains has put a sharp edge on these arms. We are on the road to victory. Pitted against German fascism are the united freedom-loving nations of the world, in whose front ranks march such mighty countries as Great Britain and the United States.

Eight months ago, at their first anti-fascist meeting on September 7, 1941, the Soviet women addressed an appeal to women the world over to join in a united anti-fascist front.

We vowed then to devote all our efforts to defeat German fascism, which robbed millions of men of their lives, children of their childhood, youth of the joy of life, women of their families and peaceful pursuits, aged people of tranquility.

The vow taken by the Soviet women did not remain mere words. In these past months we realized again and again—and the Hitlerites felt it on their own hides—what a great force women constitute.

The war of liberation has produced true heroines of the Russian people, valiant women and girls. By their feats of valor Zoya Kosmodemyanska, Liza Chaikina, Antonina Petrova—partisans who fought behind the enemy lines for the honor of their country—immortalized not only themselves but Soviet womanhood.

The women of Leningrad and Sevastopol have furnished examples of firmness and fearlessness. Their great heroic deeds will be recorded in the annals of history.

Millions of women of the Soviet Union demonstrated their courage, endurance, firmness, contempt for death and will to victory. Without sparing their lives millions of Soviet women fought, are fighting and will continue to fight shoulder to shoulder with the men, defending their native towns and villages from the arrogant hordes of the German invaders. All women of the Soviet Union have now become fighters, all have taken to arms against brutal fascism.

Who built the barricades when the frenzied fascist hordes were rushing toward the approaches to Moscow, Leningrad, Sevastopol? Women. Who dug the anti-tank ditches? Women. Who keep watch in the streets and on the roofs of buildings during raids by the fascist vultures? Women. Eugenia Zhuravleva, daughter of Leningrad, plunged into a burning house during an enemy raid and with scorched hands saved dozens of trapped people who were total strangers to her. Puncher Anastasia Chaus, a daughter of Sevastopol, worked at her machine during air raids. In one raid she lost an arm. But as soon as she was on her feet again, she came back to work and now produces three to five times the normal rate of output in a shift. Machinegunner Nina Onilova, one of Sevastopol's defenders, destroyed over 500 fascists. Nurse Anya Panchenka carried 200 wounded men from the battlefield. Girl engine-driver Soboleva refuses to leave her post. "Where I stand is my front," she says.

And there are thousands of such heroines in our country.

Women the world over, dear friends! The fronts are not only where the shots ring. Our Soviet women proved their valor as true fighters in the rear as well.

Today we are equal to any job—that's the motto of the Soviet women. They successfully substitute for men as miners, iron and steel workers, laborers, tractor drivers, collective farm chairman. In the fields and factories, on locomotives, at oilwells, in the mines, scientific laboratories, on riverboats, in the gold fields—everywhere our women are doing men's jobs, working in front fashion. In the Kuznetsk coal bases 1,110 women went down to work in the mines. Geologist Knyazeva discovered new oil-bearing districts. Academy member Lena Stern is fighting the effects of shoulder wounds and revives the activity of weakened hearts.

Today, Soviet women say, it is not enough merely to do one's normal daily assignment—the front is waiting! Nowadays we must produce three to four times the normal rate of output in a shift. There are many women innovators in industry who as a result of daring rationalization produce seven, eight and even ten times the normal rate of output in a shift and Raisa Kishtimova, electro-winder in a Urals plant, has begun to produce as much as thirty times the required output in a shift. A girl tractor driver, Eno Sarieva, fulfills three times her daily assignment.

Russian, Ukrainian, Armenian, Georgian, Byelorussian, Esthonian, Tadjik women—women of all nationalities inhabiting the Soviet Union—are standing at their fighting posts. In the face of the enemy, our multi-national people are united as never before.

On May 1, People's Commissar of Defense Stalin ordered the Red Army "to see to it that 1942 becomes the year of the final defeat of the German fascist troops and the liberation of the Soviet land from the Hitlerlite scoundrels."

This great and noble task set the Red Army has roused and inspired the entire Soviet nation to new exploits in work and in fighting.

Women the world over, we Soviet women assembled at an anti-fascist meeting in Moscow declare that we regard the May Day order of our great leader as an order binding not only on the Red Army but also on us, the many-million-strong army of the women of the Soviet Union.

Before the entire world we declare that we Soviet women of every age, every nationality, every trade, will join the Red Army in the offensive against the enemy. Some of us will take part in the fighting directly at the front and our feminine hand will not waver. Others will participate in the offensive against the enemy at our machines and in the fields. Those who for the time being are under the fascist yoke will destroy the Hitlerite scoundrels day and night wherever possible and however possible.

The women of the Soviet Union represent an enormous force. But into what a huge force could the

women of the entire world be turned! Is it not a fact that women's courage, their selfless labor, their ability not to bend under the burdens and grief which the war has brought are a weapon dealing death to the enemy? Is it not a fact that the arrogant Hitlerite pack dreads the wrath of the women the world over?

Women of England, of America and all freedom-loving countries: Today as never before we must act in common in order by our joint efforts to put an end to the brown plague in 1942. We call upon you to join our ranks in the hour of decisive battles against bloodthirsty Hitlerism. Remember, on our battlefields your future too is being decided.

Those who desire to live in peace, help in the war against fascism. Those who want happiness for their children, destroy the infanticides.

More airplanes, tanks, guns! More bombshells to hurl upon the Hitlerite monster that has set out to devour the whole of Europe, the whole world.

Women in the countries occupied by the German fascists! Take rifles and grenades in your hands. The hour when the shameful fetters will be removed from your native towns and villages is nigh. If you want this hour to come tomorrow, do today what the women partisans are doing in the Soviet districts temporarily captured by the Germans. At every step inflict damage upon the Hitlerite scoundrels. Blow up the German stores, railway tracks, cut communications, hamper the work of factories and mills under German control. Resist fascist looting. Don't let your fathers, husbands, sons join Hitler's robber army.

Women of Germany, can't you see what is in store for Germany tomorrow if the criminal Hitler is allowed to remain at the helm today? Fight to overthrow the adventurers' clique of Hitler and Goering. Hold up the troop trains destined for the front, sabotage war production!

Women throughout the world! Forward to the final defeat of Hitler's gang in 1942! All who are hoping for victory, help to achieve it! Victory does not come of itself.

Strengthen the anti-fascist front of women throughout the world!

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